China monthly Review

密勒氏評論報

CHINA'S COOPERATIVES TODAY

TRAINING FUTURE LEADERS

. . . REWI ALLEY

TURNING POINT FOR CO-OPS

. . . PETER TOWNSEND

THE YEAR IN PICTURES

JAPAN'S REVIVAL THREATENS PEACE OF ASIA . . . WILLIAM PAGET

Supplement: Foreign Policy Documents

OCTOBER 1950

JMP 6,500

America's War in Korea

AS the struggle of the Korean people for national unity and independence against armed intervention grows fiercer, the indictment of US intervention grows clearer. Captured US troops, dazedly recovering from the shock of fighting against a courageous people, admit that they weren't told where they were going or what they were fighting for. Many have stated that they don't like what they are doing; they have no quarrel with the people of Korea, they say, and the Koreans should be allowed to settle their own affairs.

Meanwhile, the US air force bombs peasant villages and strafes livestock, and the ground troops frequently open fire on the peasants in masses, fearful that some of them may be guerilla fighters. Young and old are rounded up and shot by America's south Korean "allies," sometimes with targets over the heart for surer aim.

But the people of Korea are rising to defend their land. The able bodied men and women are volunteering by the hundreds of thousands to drive the invader out.

US war prisoners on their way to camp in Phyongyang.

Korean partisans fight for the unity and independence of their country.

US war prisoners carry a banner: "The Korean people's struggle for a united fatherland is a just cause. Stop at once armed intervention in Korea!"

Young Korean woman used as target. Picture was found in a US "military adviser's" deserted house.

US troops watch a burning Korean village.

LETTERS From the People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of the *China Monthly Review*.

WIDE DETERMINATION

To the Editor:

This morning I learned with high indignation that US planes unscrupulously invaded our skies along the Yalu River in the Northeast and brought about loss of life and property to the Chinese people.

This is a very serious incident. It proves that the American imperialists are attempting to expand their armed aggression against our Chinese homeland as well as Korea and Taiwan.

Immediately after news of the above-mentioned incident was received in our school, a poster appeared on the wall calling for us students to join in a strong protest against the American aggressive acts by signing our names. One could see so many of us vie with each other in signing the appeal.

Certainly this is not a mere act of signing names, but a demonstration of the universal determination of the Chinese people to fight for peace and oppose aggression.

HSU CHIEN

Peking
August 28, 1950

SIGN OF THE TIMES

To the Editor:

On August 22 a motor car of the Honan Military Area Headquarters was running from the South Book Store Street to the North Book Store Street at full speed. At the street crossing it almost collided with a student who was returning home from school. Fortunately, the chauffeur stopped the car at once so no accident occurred.

However, the chauffeur jumped out of his car, grabbed the student and started maltreating him. A crowd gathered and all were upset by such actions. One old man went up to the chauffeur and told him to stop. The chauffeur kept right on and finally a policeman was called. The crowd all told the policeman to arrest the chauffeur, and he was taken to the police station.

The next day an official of the Honan Military Area Headquarters was assigned to call on the student's family and presented JMP 100,000 for medical treatment.

At six o'clock that day a mass meeting was held at the place of the incident. The chauffeur confessed his mistakes and said he had lost the important quality of a PLA soldier for every PLA soldier must respect and work for the people. He said he would accept heavy punishment from both the people and his officers.

The official in charge then said he was sorry to see that some of the PLA soldiers were not fully educated and hoped that the people would strongly criticize such actions and give suggestions so that there could be progress.

Then a representative of the Kaifeng Municipal People's Government spoke and said that the people's government was responsible to the people and since the chauffeur had trespassed upon the rights of an individual, he must be sent to court. He further stressed that all government functionaries must do their best to serve the people and any action against the people's interest is wrong and must be corrected.

I could not help but remember similar incidents when the Kuomintang soldiers made it a constant practice to molest the people and no one dared make any objections. Now under our New Democracy, such actions are outlawed by the people and the people's government.

CHANG SHU-CHI

Kaifeng
September 12, 1950

CORRECTION

The feature, "Best Paintings of the Year," which appeared on pages 14-15 of the September issue of the Review should have been credited to Mr. Hsia Li, who supplied both the pictures and the text. Actually, the material was originally credited to Mr. Hsia, but, in making a last minute change in the head on the article, we inadvertently dropped out the credit line. Our apologies to Mr. Hsia, a frequent contributor to the Review.—Editor.

INTRODUCING WFDU

To the Editor:

The delegation of the World Federation of Democratic Youth is on its way to new China. As there are still a great number of people who are not fully aware of its nature, a brief introduction to this Federation is timely.

In November 1942, youth representatives from 29 countries met in London and set up an international youth organization against fascism. It was called the World Society of Youth.

Three years later this society again met in London with about 600 representatives from 64 countries who represented 30,000,000 organized youth. At this meeting it was decided to form a world federation of democratic youth whose main aim is to work for lasting peace. It has done this by supporting the youth movements in Greece and Spain against the fascist rulers there and exposing the warmongers in the imperialist countries.

In April 1949 at the two World Peace Congresses held in Paris and Prague, 194 youth representatives from 46 countries representing 50,000,000 organized youth were present.

The Federation always supports the national liberation movements of colonial and vassal states, and in 1946 and 1948 delegations went to countries in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America to study the situation of colonial youth.

The Federation has its headquarters in Paris. The acting chairman is French, while there is one vice-chairman each from the Soviet Union, China, America, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia and India.

In May of this year the Federation held its second conference in Berlin and adopted as its central task the full mobilization of all peace-loving youths to join in a campaign for permanent world peace.

FRANCIS H. CHOW

Shanghai
September 14, 1950

PEKING'S MINORITIES

To the Editor:

I think readers abroad will be interested in what is happening to the people of minority races in Peking.

Incomplete statistics to date show that altogether there are about 60,000 such people, of whom some 70 percent are Mohammedans. They are mainly occupied as hawkers, restaurant workers, vegetable peddlers and pedicab drivers. A few of them deal in curios or teach school.

The Mongolians in Peking number only 1,000. They are generally engaged in hard labor and are not a closely organized group. The Tibetans number about 40 and most of them are lamas who depend on the revenue from their temples and properties for a living.

There are 21 private primary schools for Mohammedans and seven public ones with a total of 6,000 pupils. In addition, Peking has a Mohammedan college and a Mongolian-Mohammedan school, which have the same standard as a middle school.

In carrying out its policy of uniting with the national minorities, the Peking People's Government has established a college for Mohammedans, who have been very favorably impressed with this action. Also the government helped the Mohammedan private primary schools overcome their financial difficulties by giving them a subsidy and encouraging the Mohammedan merchants to make contributions.

The government has also set up supplementary study programs inside these schools such as classes for children, youth, women and adults and there are now 3,000 students who study two hours in the evening in these classes.

In order to cultivate cadres from among the national minorities, some of the Mohammedan intellectuals have been encouraged to enter the revolutionary academies to study. The unemployed Mohammedan intellectuals have been given work and many meetings have been held to explain to the minority people the government's policy.

This past year, the city government has helped the Mohammedans to enlarge their

(Continued on following page)

CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW
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hospital so that more patients can be cared for.

The national minorities now do not seem to feel that they are "minorities" and the only difference between us Han and other peoples is that we have different surnames. These groups are treated equally in every way and in some respects they are even shown special favors because they are "minorities."

P. Y. WANG

Peking
September 8, 1950

INSPIRING FILMS

To the Editor:

There have been several critical articles in the Review concerning the new films that have appeared during the past year. Many of these films have been of high quality and absorbing interest, as for instance "The Invisible War Front" and "Chao I-man."

But almost nothing has been said about the many newsreels that have given such an excellent picture of events during the year.

A year ago, the newsreels were technically poor, but have improved greatly in this respect, and the subjects chosen recently have been of great interest. I speak in particular of a recent one, which showed the people repairing the dikes against summer flooding.

The sight of hundreds of farmers, men and women, working enthusiastically to protect their own fields against the threatening floods, was an inspiring one. It was the determination and energy of a free people, working together in a common cause, made visible.

And the obstacles, as seen in the film, are many. Every bit of earth fill for the dikes was dug up with small hand spades and carried in little baskets to the top of the dike. Not a machine was visible. Machinery will undoubtedly be available in the future; and in the meantime the people cheerfully carry out the immense back-breaking tasks which are the necessary prelude to the building up of an industrial nation.

EX-NEW YORKER

Shanghai
September 12, 1950

A FOREIGNER'S FORUM

To the Editor:

Because of the distortion of China news by the western press throughout the capitalist and colonial countries, a great many foreign people know little about new China.

The Review alone though with its objective reports can do little to rectify the entire situation. However, as the editor said in the first monthly issue, "The peace camp needs every supporter."

The Review should bear another responsibility; namely, to let foreign people have a deeper understanding of conditions in this country. In this regard, objective information alone is not enough. In my opinion foreigners should be called upon to express their views and raise questions about new China in the Review. Opinions from other readers then should be invited to join the discussion.

This would serve as a kind of education. There might be many incorrect views at first. But we do not have to worry about them. Only when they (that is the foreigners) are encouraged to speak frankly and freely and are willing to receive criticism and suggestions can a true understanding be reached. Then, these people as a matter of course will become strong supporters for peace.

Y. C. WANG

Peking
September 15, 1950

WANTS MORE NEWS

To the Editor:

I just bought a copy of the new monthly and though I realized there would be some changes in the material included, I was very disappointed to find that the former columns under "News of the Week," were not in.

Since so many rumors are spread by the "Voice of America" over the short wave, the readers of the Review need to have correct and accurate news and analyses of the present world situation.

Since you asked for your readers' opinions, I have dared to offer you my suggestions.

A READER

Shanghai
September 1, 1950

NEWS FROM ABROAD

To the Editor:

I have two suggestions in regard to the new monthly. I was disappointed not to find any editorial commenting on international affairs, which has always been a feature of the Review. Also under Special Articles, there were only two articles about conditions in other countries.

Of course, I understand that your main concern is to report the real news of new China to your readers abroad and to consolidate your efforts with the peace camp.

On the other hand, I think you must not overlook your Chinese readers who are interested in having articles and material on conditions abroad, especially in America.

WONG SZE-LIANG

Shanghai
September 13, 1950

A LIGHTER TOUCH

To the Editor:

I enjoy reading the new monthly but I have one suggestion to make. That is, why not have a lighter side to the severe masculinity of the Review's pages? Perhaps you would like to include the following verse which is peculiarly appropriate for our time:

Is it only a few years
Since we heard those
Stirring speeches
By world-famous orators
Denouncing wars
And promising us peace,
Peace in our time?
But their beautiful
Phrases of "peace with honor"
And "brotherhood of men"
Have only resulted in war again,
Another war in our time.
And it is rumored this one will be
A world-shaking sensation
For the fatal words
Being mouthed from ear to ear
Forewarn us of "complete annihilation"!

MARJORIE FULLER

Shanghai
September 10, 1950

Letter from the Editor

Dear Review Reader:

Marking the end of the first year of the new People's Republic of China, the October issue of the *Review*—its second issue in the new format of a monthly—is bigger than ever.

In addition to the usual articles and special features, we have added a few more pages in order to include a number of special articles which cover the highlights of the past year—a year which has seen more changes, more concrete developments in China than any previous decade.

In the more than 30 years since its establishment, the *Review* has never before had so much news for its readers. Events are moving exceedingly fast today in China and other parts of the Far East where the peoples, long subject to colonial exploitation, are now rising to throw off the bonds which have halted their progress and development for so long.

The *Review's* editors will do their best to keep you informed of the tremendous developments in China and neighboring countries of Asia.

However, there are several ways in which readers can help. First, let us hear from you. Tell us what you like about the *Review* and what you don't like. Let us know which articles, which features you find most interesting and useful. If you feel that an article or a special section is not useful, write and tell us.

Another and equally important kind of help you can give is in helping the *Review* reach a bigger audience. The *Review* is dependent solely upon its readers. The more readers it has, the better it will become. Circulation has gone up considerably since our shift from a weekly to a monthly, but we still need more readers.

You can help us by renewing your subscription promptly when it expires and by renewing it for as long a period as you can. If you can afford it, extend your subscription now, even if it has not expired. Subscribe for a friend and thus introduce the *Review* to a new reader.

The editors and other staff members will do their best to make the new *Review* a success but in order to succeed, we will need the help of each and every reader.

John W Powell

China 密勒氏評論報
monthly Review
Established in 1917

The editorial pages present the opinions of the editor. The other pages of the *China Monthly Review* are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

Vol. 119 Shanghai, October 1950 No. 2

THE FIRST YEAR

THE most memorable year in China's history is just drawing to a close. On October 1, 1949, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China was inaugurated. In the months which have passed since then, the Chinese people have demonstrated to the world what they are capable of accomplishing once the fetters of internal despotism and external oppression were broken.

* * *

ON the military front the country was basically liberated from the Kuomintang. A year ago extensive areas in south China and the southwest, not to mention numerous scattered pockets, were still under actual or nominal control of the enemy. In addition, the KMT had a virtual monopoly in the air while its control of the sea enabled it to hang on to numerous small coastal islands.

However, within a matter of months the PLA had driven the KMT from its mainland strongholds, had managed to develop amphibious units which liberated nearly all of the coastal islands and had perfected its aerial defenses to such a degree that KMT airraids almost became a thing of the past.

The only military tasks remaining as the first year of the new government draws to a close are the liberation of Taiwan and Tibet. Despite the American intervention designed to prevent the occupation of Taiwan, the Chinese people are confident of their ability to liberate Taiwan, as well as Tibet, in the near future. On the basis of past observations, it is difficult to imagine that the occupation of these two remaining areas will be long delayed.

* * *

ON the political front the new government has achieved a degree of harmony and cooperation between the diverse politico-economic groups which the average observer would have scarcely believed possible a year ago. The success of the people in uniting under the program of the New Democracy and the Common Program is testified to by the fact that the new government is a coalition in which the country's four main classes—proletariat, peasants, national capitalists and petit-bourgeoisie—are firmly joined.

During the year considerable progress was made in the development of democratic processes and institutions.

On national, provincial, hsien and municipal levels dozens of different democratic bodies were organized. Labor unions, women's associations, people's representatives' conferences, peasants' associations and others were established—all on the basis of democratic procedure.

In addition, a number of special conferences were called during the year to deal with a whole variety of problems and projects. At such meetings delegates representing various areas, interests, races, classes, etc. voiced their views and, after thorough discussion, work programs and decisions were hammered out.

The Chinese people, who never before have come even close to self-rule, are disproving the long cherished notion of the "advanced" Western powers, particularly those with colonial holdings, that people must be prepared for self-government by decades, if not centuries, of gradual and limited "participation" in administration. In one short year, the people of China have thrown out one of the worst remnants of absolute feudal rule and replaced it with a representative, workable form of democracy.

* * *

THE economic gains of the past year have been no less impressive. The Kuomintang left a legacy of chaos and disorder.

The railroads were worn and broken. Highways were almost non-existent. Waterways were badly silted and there was a great shortage of shipping. Dikes, sea walls and other flood prevention works were unrepaired and, in many cases, deliberately destroyed. Flood waters covered near record areas of the country. Food stocks were nil or at best critically low. Factories were closed. Rural areas suffered from a shortage of manpower, implements, and draught animals. Prices were often quoted on an hourly basis. In short, the economy was in a mess.

Today the railways are running better than at any time since the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War, while new lines are already under construction. Highways have been built and rebuilt. Tens of millions of cubic feet of earth have been dredged, dug and hauled, and entirely new courses are being excavated for some of the more troublesome rivers.

This year's increase in grain output is measured in millions of tons. The majority of the country's factories are back in operation and more are resuming production with each passing month. And—perhaps most spectacular of all achievements—inflation has come to an end and prices are stable for the first time in nearly a decade and a half.

* * *

FOR the foreign observer in this country, grown accustomed throughout the years to a steady worsening in the overall situation, the developments of these months have been particularly impressive.

Never before in its 30-odd years of existence, has the *Review* been able, in issue after issue, to report that conditions are improving, that on every side one is greeted with fresh signs of progress. The Chinese people have liberated themselves in the true sense of the word.

Training Youth for the Future

Boys and girls prepare for the future industrialization of the countryside at the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives training school in the Northwest hinterland.

REWI ALLEY, a New Zealander, has spent many years in China, most of the time working with the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives. In this article Mr. Alley describes the work, the problems, the goals of the Sandan school which is part of the CIC's program for training future leaders and technicians for China's rapidly expanding industrial cooperative movement. As was the case with all other institutions and organizations which in the past attempted to try out new and progressive ideas and which attempted to help the people organize for a better life, the Sandan school was viewed with suspicion and hostility by the KMT. However, all that has been changed with the liberation and the school is now able to work with a new purpose and look with confidence to the future.—Editor.

SANDAN—remote, isolated, buffeted by the winds from the Gobi Desert—is poor in many things but rich in hope. Here, in one of the poorest and least developed sections of China's vast northwest hinterland, lies one of the chief hopes for the future of the newly liberated Chinese peasant.

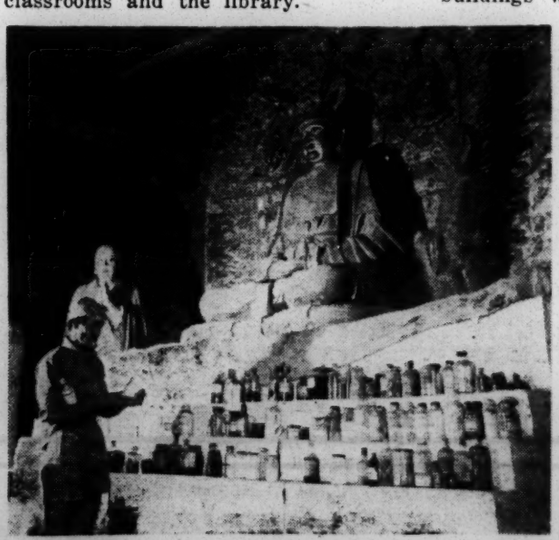
It was in 1944 in Sandan, an old city along an ancient caravan route to Central Asia, that the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives Bailie School for training the leaders of the future rural industrial co-ops was established.

Whatever the name of Sandan may mean for the historian, it certainly holds a special meaning for creative youth, for here an attempt has been made to lay the basis for a new kind of youth training center.

Converted Temples

Here the visitor will not find the magnificent universities, the great middle schools or any of the other splendid educational facilities of the prosperous cities. In Sandan the visitor will find only converted ancient temples and village type buildings constructed by the trainees who have come together in this tiny place, six thousand feet above sea level and hundreds of miles and weeks away from the urban centers of the nation.

Around the pagoda—which covers, it is said, the hair of the Indian saint-king Asoka—are the chemical laboratory and the electrical and transport sections. On the other side of the street is the central machine shop, the cotton spinning shops, central store, classrooms and the library.



Ancient Buddhas preside over the drug and chemical store.

Then, as one goes east, are printing, geological survey, hospital, farm and knitting-tailoring compounds. Facing these is our experimental farm where new seeds are tried. Outside the city are the pottery, glass, paper-making, wool-spinning and weaving, leather tannery, flour mill and beet-sugar making compounds, while farther away are the coal mines and the cooperative farm of some 5,000 *mou* (850 acres), mostly waste land which has been partially developed by the school.

Except for some iron boiler chimneys, one would not think that the buildings were much different from any other countryside buildings. But inside these buildings the livelihood of the ordinary people is being integrated with modern rural industry. The school's rubber-tired carts and diesel and gasoline trucks bustle in and out of the city gates, where in the old days only lumbering oxen passed by, pulling tiny loads on clumsy wooden - wheeled carts.

The streets are often filled with cheerful youth, marching out to the country with gleaming shovels on their shoulders, coming in to class or going off to some public meeting. They are also to be seen on camels, horses, bicycles—even a motorcycle, when the boy in charge of the coal mines has his in running order. It is an old, tired one and its running hours are not frequent.

The road to the school is well tdodden by the local people, too, for each day there is a line of them outside the hospital waiting for treatment; and when there are public days for looking at the school, people come from long distances to see the work we are doing. On nights when the school gives plays and movies the whole village gathers.

The task of trying to conduct meaningful training work, practically impossible under the old society, was started here six years ago with a group of refugee lads who had come from Shuangshihpu in Shensi, where political conditions made it even less possible for them to continue their training.

The group had to train itself, make its own textbooks, build its own class rooms, set up its own practical training divisions. In short, it had to make everything and do everything itself.

It was treated with suspicion, as a bunch of "red hats," by the local authorities; and there were many times, especially in the period just before liberation, when it stood in very real danger. Perhaps only its habit of collective working, its organizational success, saved it from being dispersed and destroyed by the retreating KMT.

It was with high enthusiasm and a great sigh of relief that the school dug up its gasoline and machine oil from their hiding place, put its trucks together and sent 14 of them to assist the PLA in liberating the Yu Men oil fields. Day and night trainees toiled to repair PLA trucks and equipment.

Avidly they listened to the stories the new armies brought with them, to the plays which were put on in the village; and joyfully they danced in the *yang ko* with the rest of the villagers, for they realized that new opportunity had come and that their long years of training would be of use to the common man's republic that had arrived at last.

Difficulties and Mistakes

Difficulties? They were still with the group, as ever. Each single success since the beginning of the work had led to many new difficulties and it was to be expected that there would be many new successes.

There has been no end to the mistakes that have been made and, it might almost be said, no end to the mistakes that have been corrected.

Students repairing water wheel at school flour mill.

This has been a youth town. All that is worth much in it has been built by youth and for youth. Youth is not perfect. However, it is not only the trainees who need their thinking changed—indeed it is relatively easy to get the spirit of collective construction and learning into the ordinary trainees. The staff, too, often needs to stop and have a house cleaning of ancient, preconceived ideas.

We who have tried to lead, as well as we can, from behind the group, have so much to learn, so much to get rid of, before we can give what is needed. Each stage of development of this struggling group has brought with it the necessity of dealing with problems in a certain way. Some of us have not learned how to carry through from one stage of growth to another. Those who believe in the hopes and work of their trainees succeed. Those who do not, must fall behind.

* * *

Live Up to Expectations

AS these lines are being written, a report has come in from a group of boys who have taken a heavy four-wheel-drive truck to Chungking. A bridge collapsed and the truck fell into the river. It has already been pulled out, hauled to the nearest town and is being repaired.

At the time of liberation one truck was on the way to Tihua in Sinkiang with two boys in charge. It was an old GMC which broke down constantly; but the long trip, which took some three months, was completed, and one day the lads returned to school as if nothing unusual had been accomplished.

Trucking over the vast distances of the Northwest needs resourceful, creative energy. It is not something to be lightly undertaken by someone who can merely handle the controls of a vehicle.

Our timber comes from the distant Ch'i Lien Shan, iron ore has to be hauled from the North Mountains, all over rough ox-cart trails, and sometimes over roads of our own making. Tools and supplies have to be transported from Sian and beyond. It's a lot to expect of a bunch of boys but they mostly live up to the expectation.

Of course, there are faults with every human organization. By meetings and by self-criticism these are reduced. Sometimes we get in a tangle, as for instance, in our central store. One system had just been set up when a newly arrived man brought in another system. Stock-taking had to be done again with much effort, which brought forth the somewhat exasperated comment at one meeting, "Are we looking after these things, or are these things looking after us?"

Sometimes criticism tends to be petty, and those thus criticized often must be encouraged to go on, for the better methods of human organization have not yet been with us long enough to have ironed out all the troubles of the past.

"Did Liu Tung-li give some tomatoes out of our school garden to some other person three years ago?" "Did Chang Hsien-wei use school money to buy ice-cream when he last went to Lanchow on business?" Small and childish, but then some of our trainees are still very much children and it is better for them to say what is on their minds and get rid of it so that they may cooperate better in the future.

* * *

Full and Vivid Life

TODAY the sun shines as pleasantly as it does always toward the end of summer and one thinks of how exciting it is to be with this group who make and learn each day. How full and how vivid life is compared with some other lives one has known! There is light and shade, victory and defeat, people with different backgrounds and different experiences coming together.

"The sheep are dying at the middle pasture at Ssu Pa—it is anthrax. We must get in touch with the government inspectors and get preventive inoculations for our stud sheep."

"The rest of the wheat is too green and we don't have enough picks to work on the irrigation ditches while waiting for it to ripen."

"The workers at Wa Yao Kou put the horses out last night and the horses ran away. Can we get some boys to go to the South Mountains to find them?"

"We have brought camels in and are loading them to go to Alashan Mongolia to bargain for wool for a couple of weeks."

"The army lent us some meat last winter when we had no money to get past New Year's. We ought to get in some sheep and pay them back now, though they have not asked us anything about it yet."

"Li Ping-yuan is in the hospital sick. His uncle has just come with the news that his father died. His family have three *mou* of land near Wuwei city. There are four younger brothers. Ping-yuan must go and bury his father who cannot be put into his coffin till the eldest son comes. A hospital boy must go along, too, as Ping-yuan is not really fit for travel. He is one of the most promising lathe workers in the school. It will be a shame if he can't come back."

"There will be a meeting to fix wages tonight. Technicians, workers and students are electing delegates to come to it."

"The survey lads have come in from their two weeks in the mountains. They have found some very good talc, also some good saltpeter which the chemical laboratory is making into blasting powder for the coal mine. Shouldn't they begin to survey the new coal mine site tomorrow?"

"When," angrily, "are we going to get that oil press working? Our pigs need the waste seed and our flour mill stones need to be changed. Why didn't the last truck that went to Yu Men bring some down?"

"It's too bad that we cannot rewind big motors ourselves but have to send them off to the oil wells and ask their people to do it for us. Why don't we learn how to do our own rewinding?"

"We don't know enough about printing. Can't we find a printing worker? There must be one who would come and help."

"Class rooms need putting into order for the next term. How is it that boys always seem to break stools and benches, no matter how strong they are?"

"Is our lime good enough for cement? Can we build a vertical kiln? Why don't we make some sodium sulphide and soda ash and sell them in Sian or Shanghai? We could make enough money to keep ourselves."

Papermakers dry their product on the wall.

"The truck at Sian is having the cylinders rebored. The boys will have to wait there and see that it is done properly."

"When will those materials from Shanghai get to Sian? How many trucks to send?"

Peace and Construction

This and much more every day, all day—peaceful activities of peaceful, constructive youth, which make the place in fact an international peace center where people write a peace petition with their daily work and their daily hope.

Sandan has owed its support in the past to the help of people, ordinary people in many parts of the world who have believed in the common man and in a direct approach to his problem. Its staff includes technicians and teachers of several nations. They all feel with the trainees that today's China is the China a man can work for to get happiness—quiet constructive happiness from the work itself. When ordinary people send their help to Sandan they send it as a vote for peace and reconstruction, as an exclamation mark to these sentiments, as a sign of their belief in the future.

* * *

Not all Summer

SANDAN is not all summer. In fact most of the year seems to be winter. But the group did not come to Sandan searching for the comforts of a commercial center. It came to Sandan because here were scope for creative training, raw materials, housing of a sort and difficulties to overcome, the overcoming of which would teach us more than any books could teach.

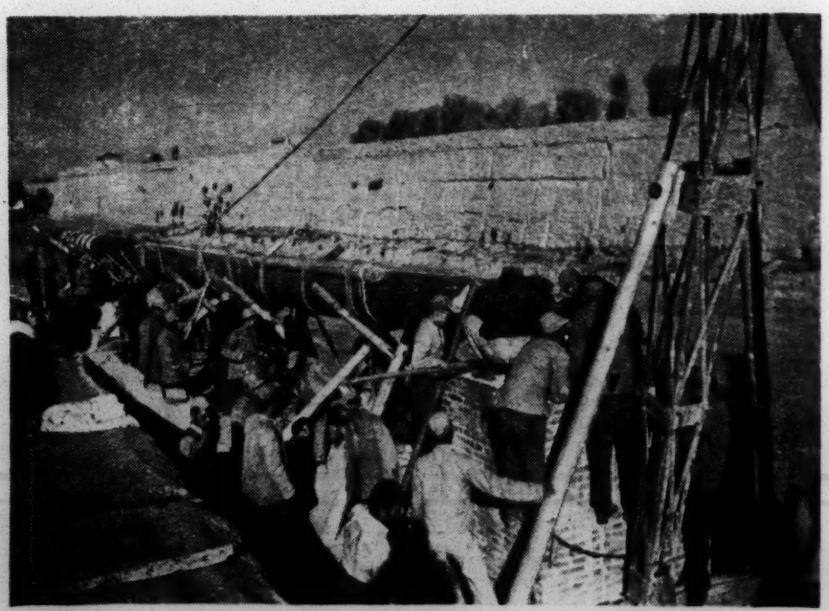
Sandan is a six-year training school, aiming at turning out creative technicians for rural industry. Unlike the more intensive training for men in big industrial centers, a trainee for small industry must know a variety of things, for he has to lead technically ignorant people to take the first step toward socialism—combining together for production.

Girls and boys are trained and there is a preparatory section for those whose educational standards are not high enough to enter on the courses prescribed. Better methods of farming, the use of tractors, of windmills and other irrigation aids are taught, as well as the ordinary technical method of each training division.

Machine drawing, as the first step in changing the peasant mind from "nearly right" to "tolerance .001 inch" is stressed. Almost all simple machinery used for production in the hinterland could be improved. Every loom, every spinning wheel can be made stronger, faster, better. There is always a better way to tan leather, to dye cloth, to make paper.

As a training school for the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives of the future, experiments should be taken through to completion so as to give trainees confidence in better method before they go out to use it. Trainees need adaptable minds so that they will be able to understand new inventions and use them to their fullest advantage. They need to understand their own bodies and what they can do, how they should be taken care of.

Before trainees are finally accepted, they undergo a six months' apprenticeship, during which time we test their ability to work hard with their hands and to live collectively with their comrades.



Gang of student workers erecting new smokestack.

Student surveyor at work.

Some visitors who come to the school are disappointed by our faults. Yards are often not swept when trainees have to go off and do something else. Some one may have spilled something in a hospital ward and rough brick floors do retain a smell.

But for the first time in the history of Sandan, women unable to give normal birth are delivered by peasant boys and so far—touch wood—no one has died. Appendectomies are done frequently, as well as a host of smaller operations by lads who a short time ago did not know the meaning of hygiene. Not that any one of the group is satisfied about this. There is the general cry for better technical leadership, more specialization in each course, for more time to be spent on learning.

The Best and Worst

The best that can be said about the work in this small center is that it is a struggling effort of peasant people to lift themselves up and do the best that can be done with what assistance they can get. There is a growing faith in the scientific way, in the need to master the machine and make it work for men, in the power of the group and in the glorious destiny of the working class of China.

The worst that can be said, perhaps, is that we do not always make the most of our opportunities, think too subjectively, seek to carry mistakes of the past into a future that has no place for them, do not believe enough in each other to help one another to get rid of our faults, and often do not believe enough in ourselves.

These things we can remedy. We can make what has already been done grow into a powerhouse supplying human life and human energy for the common man of at least this part of the great land that is China. So far, only a foundation has been laid. Perhaps a decade will yet be needed to complete the structure.

— *REWI ALLEY*

Turning Point for China's Cooperatives

Growth of cooperatives was long stymied by wars and Kuomintang repression. Now, however, internal conditions provide a healthy climate for the co-ops which are expanding throughout the country.

PETER TOWNSEND is with the International Committee of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives. In this article, the first part of which is printed in this issue, he gives an overall picture of the cooperative movement in China, its past problems and the reasons for them, as well as a detailed survey of the development of the movement during the first year of the new government. As Mr. Townsend points out, both producer and consumer cooperatives have grown enormously in each successive area as it has been liberated from KMT control. The second and concluding portion of this article will appear in the November issue.—Editor.

WHEN the All China Conference of Cooperative Workers closed in Peking at the end of July, a very important stage which might even be called a turning-point in China's cooperative movement had been reached.

The cooperatives were taking on the characteristics of manhood. With the establishment of the Central People's Government and the resultant steady progress made by the national economy towards stability, they were also taking on the responsibilities of manhood. They began centralizing their organization through the establishment of a national Cooperative Federation controlled and directed by their membership and divesting themselves of some of the experimental and empirical traits which had marked their growth.

It was possible to map long-range development, to plan in terms of a national cooperative movement instead of isolated or localized terms.

The cooperatives could point to a total membership of 20,000,000, nearly doubling the approximate 13,000,000 of the end of 1949 and holding the possibility of itself being doubled by the end of 1950; to 3,600 major urban cooperative enterprises and more than 34,000 village cooperatives, the total number of units being more than 38,000; to a volume of business in the first three months of this year equal to 4,000,000,000 catties of millet; and to a corps of 100,000 cooperative workers. In some areas, particularly the Northeast and North and East China, the cooperative network was wide and expanding fast (at the end of 1949 nearly 15 percent of the Northeastern population had joined one or other type of cooperative).

In addition to their already great contribution to improved livelihood and the rich fund of experiences they had accumulated, there is a valuable record of defects discovered and corrected. Taking the cooperative movement in Heilungkiang province, for example, until the end of 1948 most of the province's cooperatives were situated in cities and towns, and many were too deeply under the guidance of government cadres.

Here were two serious defects — the villages were being neglected (thus in three hsien, out of a total of 377 cooperatives 76 percent were located in towns and only 24 percent in the rural areas), and the members themselves were not taking an active enough part in the management of their cooperatives. Another shortcoming was also uncovered — too many cadres were aiming for cooperative profits, not for service to the community, so that many cooperatives took on the aspect of ordinary private enterprise. Yet once these defects were brought into the open and their harmful results discussed and analyzed by the cooperative leaders concerned, their correction was rapid.

By the first half of 1949 village cooperatives had been increased to the point where there was one to each six villages in the province. By the end of 1949 the idea of "making profits" rather than "serving the people" had been almost rooted out, the number of cooperatives increased to 2,047 societies with a membership of 1,420,000, and there was an average of one cooperative unit to each two and a half villages.

These defects are worthy of mention, not so much because they have hindered the work as because they are largely the result of historical conditions which no longer prevail, making their avoidance easier.

Liberated Area Background

The background of cooperative development, first in the early Soviets, later in the Border Regions and Liberated Areas, was war: civil war, Kuomintang blockade, war against the Japanese, and a resumption of civil war. Sometimes cooperatives had to become guerilla units, taking to the hills. At other times there was acute and bitter destruction, as in Shantung in 1946-7 or when Hu Tsung-nan's troops broke into the Yenan area, with the result that the whole economic framework was shattered.

In some Border Regions and guerilla districts long-range cooperative planning was possible. In others, the situation was so fluid that the execution of plans was always a moot question; the long-established commercial channels broke down, communications were poor, costly and often enough dangerous, and cities and towns were frequently cut off from the rural districts, making an interchange of supplies almost impossible. The cooperatives of whole areas, such as the New 4th Route Area or the guerilla regions of Shansi, were in large measure unable to establish economic relations with other areas.

These factors gave to the cooperative movement a lack of cohesion, placing difficulties in the way of inter-cooperative relations and the pooling of experiences, and an overall cooperative policy could scarcely take into account the many particular characteristics that affected each area.

Throughout this period and until the PLA turned decidedly to the offensive, giving huge regions the promise of peace, the overriding emphasis was on production, supplying the front lines, building the self-sufficiency forced on these areas, and meeting the people's immediate needs. The cooperatives, like every other organization, played a big role in this.

In the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Region, for example, there were 260 cooperatives in 1943, with 967 administrative and business units and a membership of 150,000, and in 1944 cooperatives had increased to 691, business units to 1,280, and membership to 265,777, while turnover was large. The very emphasis on production and war problems, however, meant that sometimes certain aspects of cooperation such as welfare were unavoidably neglected.

In some cases members and nonmembers would be treated alike, so that it made little difference whether a man bought shares or not, for he could still make use of the cooperative's facilities. Nor did he have to bother his head with cooperative affairs. There was no unified approach to the question of bonuses—should profits be divided, and if so what percentage should be divided among the members? Some took it into their hands to divide all the profits, and if profits were small or the cooperative had recorded a loss, then the reserve capital might be divided until the cooperative's financial position was severely weakened.

In such cases, the drive to provide bonuses at all costs led to the drive to make profits at all costs, even though a part of the membership might suffer in the process, while indifference to purchasing shares tended to separate the cooperatives from the people. Both, reducing the cooperatives' contributed share capital, led to greater dependence on government or commercial loans, which in turn served to increase indifference on the part of the members to democratic participation in cooperative management. They felt the cooperatives less and less their immediate concern however much they might profit from them, and the cooperative structure was thereby made less stable.

Here too, the results of such developments, were reflected in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Region. By 1946 the cooperatives had shrunk to 307, the membership to 154,324. The sudden shinkage was largely because merchant capital invested in the cooperatives was suddenly withdrawn at the end of the War of Resistance and reserves were too low to hedge against such a contingency.

There was another shortcoming which enhanced these defects in management. Because of the overwhelming claims of war, of defense and offensive, and the scattered nature of the cooperatives, the importance of the cooperative movement as a whole was minimized. At the end of the Anti-Japanese War of Resistance there were even places where the authorities and cadres thought that the economy could henceforth dispense with cooperatives altogether. And because of this, too little attention was paid to training a skilled body of cooperative workers. Good ones were sometimes transferred.

In one sub-district, for example, out of 10 federations nine lost their chairmen to other organizations in 1947, while a number of people occupying lower positions were also transferred. Or again, when promising workers were sent out by cooperatives for further training they might be lost to the cooperatives once their training was completed. This could result in faulty planning.

Cooperatives would enter into battle with merchants and themselves engage in speculation, or without organizing the people or publicly explaining their program would announce that they would take care of everything for everybody, public grain, public salt, meals and clothes, and in extreme cases even the expenses of birth and death. Tempted by the promise of such a slogan one farmer entered all his draft animals as share capital and ceasing to produce himself sat back at home waiting for the cooperative to take care of him.

These obstacles are important to remember, because conditions in China are such today that they can be and are being avoided, and their harmful effects remedied, often with surprising speed. Turning once more to the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Region (now North Shensi Old Liberated Area), in 1948 only 134 cooperatives with share capital of less than 1,000 piculs of millet remained after the Kuomintang retreat.

Planning Now Possible

The enormous need for relief measures brought the cooperatives into prominence, the subsequent turn in the tide of the civil war which left no doubt as to its outcome made careful, long-range planning, untroubled by the possibility of disruption, possible. By June, 1950, numbers had been raised to 330 cooperatives (with four sub-district federations) having assets valued at over 40,000 piculs, including loan capital of 6,660 piculs.

These obstacles are important also because upon these experiences, failures and successes, has been built present cooperative policy. Planning on a national scale has become possible. Henceforth, profits will no longer be wholly eaten up by bonuses, since cooperatives are reducing bonus payments to 15 percent or less of profits and many have discontinued the payment of bonuses altogether in order to accumulate reserves quicker.

The end of the War of Liberation removes the tendency to subordinate quality to quantity. Land reform frees more capital for cooperative development from the pockets of the members themselves, and at the same time with the growing demand for more consumer goods, more fertilizer, seeds, farm tools, more markets for agricultural produce, it increases the value of cooperative services.

The restoration of communications, the stabilizing effect of a centralized economy, make for increased urban-rural interflow of goods, the village cooperatives selling agricultural surplus through town and city societies, and in return purchasing city-produced consumer goods from urban cooperative wholesale organizations.

Strengthen State Economy

The cooperatives can also help strengthen state economy. In Inner Mongolia, for instance, cooperatives were largely responsible for purchasing grain for state organizations, while the cooperatives were able to arrange for the state trading company to advance materials for padded clothes so that their members could have them during the cold harvest weather, before the harvested grain released their individual capital.

The vital role of cooperatives can now no longer be overlooked. The Common Program wrote it into economic policy in its Article 35:

> "The broad masses of the working people shall be encouraged and assisted to develop cooperatives according to the principle of voluntariness. Supply and marketing cooperatives, consumers' cooperatives, credit cooperatives, producers' cooperatives and transport cooperatives shall be organized in towns and villages and consumers' cooperatives shall first be organized in factories, institutions and schools."

One of the foundation stones of the new economy, in time the cooperative movement is likely to become the biggest mass organization in the country.

The cooperative movement has a vital role to play in the re-establishment of commercial relations in every sphere (and particularly in the fields of distribution, supply and marketing) for during the past 10 years the old, traditional commercial relations have crumbled, at times and in places so completely as to leave a vacuum. Japanese aggression, inflation and the weakening of industrial and commercial groups wore away at urban commerce. The invasions of bureaucracy and speculation left little trace of the pre-war structure. In rural areas, feudal commercial relations broke down as purchasing power dropped and peasants and farmers cut themselves off from the towns and urban consumer goods and lived as far as possible off their own production.

Land reform has completed the process, wiping away the last traces of these feudal relations but opening the way to replace them by new relationships. The semi-socialist nature of cooperation makes it an ideal form to step in and fill the gap which neither state nor private enterprise can fill.

The "semi-socialist nature" springs from two sources. Cooperatives are, first of all, based on private property and private capital. The extent and degree vary. In one form they are based on a small number of small producers, while in another they deal with the basic requirements — raw materials and markets — of a large number of small producers. In yet another form, such as workers' consumer cooperatives, they deal with the daily needs of a great number of people and the greater the number served the more benefit accrues to the individual and the less important is their private property basis.

Secondly, however, they have a mass basis. Their capital comes from workers, peasants, professional people, subscribed on the principle of "one person, one vote," their control is in the hands of all who want to participate, and they exist not to make profits but to provide cheaper goods and cut out exploitation and its effects.

There is, of course, the possibility that cooperatives can develop towards capitalism by concentrating on their non-socialist, private property aspect. In China many have done so in the past. This development was characteristic of cooperatives in Kuomintang areas, but it also lay behind the tendency to put "profit making" before the "interest of the people." In other countries this possibility has been deliberately encouraged to the extent that cooperation has become an integral feature of capitalist development.

Service to the People

But in China, under New Democracy, this danger is being avoided by the widest possible participation in cooperatives and constant democratic supervision by the members; by strict application of the principle of service to the people and (through efficient cooperatives with slow profits) the subordination of profit to general interest; by close interlocking of state and cooperative planning as is being done (one responsible cooperator referred to his society as the state economy's "left hand" in the purchasing of grain), the participation of cooperatives in political affairs at all levels, and the proper training of cadres.

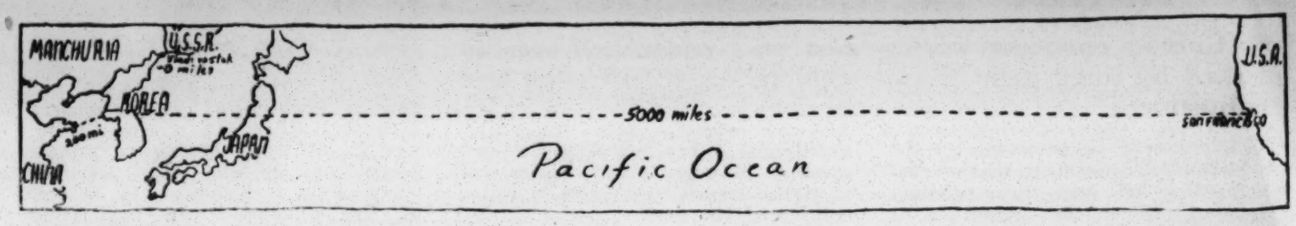
This must be done in the main by the cooperatives themselves, for while the state must assist them and state trading concerns can offer them contracts, loans and other facilities, the cooperatives remain a people's movement, run by the people concerned with their immediate operation.

The scope is enormous. Taking the industrial part of the economy, which constitutes some 10 percent of the national economy, only five percent of this 10 percent is state-run and no less than 90 percent in the hands of small producers. In this field alone this 90 percent of production is open to cooperative organization. The potential in the field of consumer cooperation of supplying the peasants' needs is staggering.

— *PETER TOWNSEND*

(to be concluded next month)

For What do US Guns Roar in the Pacific?



GEOGRAPHY tells part of the Korea story, says the San Francisco *People's World*, from which the above map is reprinted. As the map shows, Korea is 5,000 miles from San Francisco, nearest point on the US mainland. However, it adjoins the Soviet Union, and is virtually a stone's throw, let alone a bomber's flight, from Vladivostok, premier Soviet port on the Pacific. Korea also borders on Manchuria, now the great industrial heart of China, This geography poses a question: Suppose the Soviet Union or China were to send naval ships and warplanes and troops to intervene in Mexico or Canada or Cuba, or relatively distant Panama? The screams about aggression would rend the air. Yet, the fact must be faced that US military forces are operating on vital frontiers of China and the Soviet Union, while neither of these countries, so intimately concerned, has ordered military intervention.

WHAT little remained of American prestige among the peoples of Asia has disappeared during the past few months. America's "reservoir" of good will in Asia, which US spokesmen are so fond of referring to, is today bone dry.

Today only the puppets and compradores are pro-American and some of them are becoming lukewarm. The broad mass of Asia's impoverished and oppressed citizens have long ago lost faith in the US as a supporter of their fight for freedom. Even the group of so-called middle-roaders, who for so long wavered uncertainly between their own nationalist (frequently communist-led) independence movements and the lure of ECA and the "American way of life," have begun to make up their minds—and not in favor of the United States.

Why is it that the United States has suddenly become almost universaly disliked and distrusted in Asia? Why is it that papers from the metropolitan cities of Japan to the jungles of Malaya caricature Truman as a madman threatening the world with an atomic bomb?

The record of American actions in the Pacific since the end of the war provides the answer.

US post-war policy in Asia may be summed up, country by country, briefly as follows.

JAPAN—US occupation policy has steadily turned away from the people and toward the old zaibatsu and military overlords of the country who were responsible for launching the Pacific War. Today MacArthur is releasing convicted Japanese war criminals from jail and putting in their cells those very people whom the militarists themselves formerly jailed as "political prisoners."

PHILIPPINES—The US has actively identified itself with the thieving Quirino government, whose officials have openly pocketed the biggest and juicest chunks of US "relief and rehabilitation" grants. In return, this ballot-box-stuffing regime has granted America special economic concessions that have severely damaged native trade and industry.

INDO-CHINA—US policy has consisted of backing up the French colonial regime in opposition to the people's movement for self-rule. This is the same French administration which Roosevelt was once credited with describing as the worst in the world.

MALAYA—The United States is supporting the British colonial regime which has been waging a brutal and ruthless colonial war against the Malayan people for the past two years.

CHINA—The record of America's support to the Chiang Kai-shek gang is so well known that it does not need repeating. Suffice to say, the US spent up to an estimated US$6,000.000,000 in an unsuccessful attempt to keep Chiang in power.

* * *

FOR quite some time a number of people in Asia had still hoped for a change for the better in American policy. However, US intervention on the side of the status quo, of poverty and stagnation and colonial repression, has now become so open that the real nature of America's foreign policy can no longer be concealed.

Here's the record of the past few months, a period during which Asia's eye-opening has been completed.

KOREA—As soon as the civil war started, Truman ordered US military intervention in support of the corrupt and rotten Syngman Rhee regime in South Korea. He then called the UN Security into session and, with the absence of two permanent members and with the aid of America's Marshall Plan satellites, managed to obtain an after-the-fact sanction for his military adventure.

In addition, the US has successfully prevented the North Koreans from attending the UN Security Council meetings, insisting that only the South Koreans' side of the story be heard by the UN.

TAIWAN—At the same time that he ordered intervention in Korea, Truman ordered a naval blockade of Taiwan. The lack of connection between Taiwan and Korea, between China's almost completed civil war and Korea's just begun civil war is readily apparent.

The only conclusion one can draw is that the American government used the Korean outbreak as an excuse to do what it had long wanted to do — re-intervene in China's civil war in an attempt to protect Chiang Kai-shek's rump regime from the **coup de grace** being prepared for it by the Chinese people.

* * *

THE lesson of the recent debates in the Security Council has not been lost on the people of Asia.

In the case of Korea, America called North Korea an aggressor and without pausing to investigate the actual facts of the situation, ordered an immediate military attack upon her. Furthermore, with the support of her dependents in the Security Council, America has denied North Korea a chance to explain her case before the world's highest international forum.

However, when China labeled America an aggressor because of the intervention in Taiwan and, again, because of the attack by US planes upon Chinese territory along the Yalu River, America reversed her position, and, in effect, said that the plaintiff had no right to appear before the UN. In addition, the US has this time insisted upon an "investigation" being made before any action is taken on the complaint.

The result of this "heads I win, tails you lose" policy has been the complete discrediting of America in the eyes of the people of Asia. At one time colonial and other oppressed peoples of the world looked to America for help in their fight against imperialist tryanny. Today they regard her with suspicion and distrust and as the chief stumbling block in their just fight for freedom and independence. This is something for all Americans to consider.

Economic Achievements of New Gov't

China's economy during past year and a half seen as marked by three main stages—exploration, stabilization and readjustment.

THE economic achievements of the People's Government in the past 20 months fell into three distinct stages. 1) From the liberation of Peiping and Tientsin early in 1949 to March of ths year may be called the stage of exploration, 2) from March, 1950 to June, 1950 may be called the stage of stabilization and 3) from June of this year to now and probably sometime later may be called the stage of readjustment.

Stage of Exploration

DURING this stage, though the new government introduced a number of economic reforms, these reforms did not represent any radical departure from the systems and practices that have been tried now and then under the preceding regime in the past several years.

The only essential difference probably lay in the fact that the new administration brought with it its well-known efficiency and honesty which enabled the government to put teeth in the same type of regulations which were formerly violated both in letter and in spirit.

The government proceeded slowly and cautiously. While carrying out reforms, the authorities tried to preserve the existing order as much as possible. The following reforms were the outstanding achievements of this period.

1) *The unification of currencies.* The establishment of the People's Bank toward the end of 1948 was the first and the most important step in this direction. With the JMP as the sole legal tender, the new authorities proceeded not only to unify the heterogenous pockets in rural districts scattered through the country, but also to undertake large-scale conversion of Gold Yuan notes, the ill-fated KMT currency, as city after city fell into the hands of its liberators.

The determination of the rates of conversion and the speed with which the JMP replaced other currencies as the circulation medium were accomplished without a hitch.

2) *The eradication of speculation* in gold, silver dollars and foreign currencies. Gold bars, silver coins, greenbacks and Hongkong notes had been speculative favorites during the near decade and a half of accelerated inflation in China. They were not only hoarded as a storage of value and traded as precious articles, but were also actually used as the media of exchange in lieu of paper money in which the public had no confidence.

Soon after any principal port was liberated, the government promulgated regulations for the control of precious metals and foreign currency notes circulating in that area. The government's effort in curbing speculation included education for minor offenders and heavy penalties for big manpulators. The job was so thoroughly and so honestly done that speculation in gold, silver dollars and foreign currencies may now be called a thing of the past.

3) *The promulgation of foreign trade and foreign exchange regulations.* Soon after any treaty port was liberated, the government established trade relations with foreign countries and encouraged foreign ships to call at Chinese ports. A set of regulations, governing the registration of importers and exporters and classifying import as well as export commodities into those that were free, those that required permission and those that were prohibited, were promptly announced.

To facilitate foreign trade, regulations governing foreign exchange were also made public. These included the appointment of Chinese and foreign banks to handle foreign exchange, the establishment of a market for buying and selling foreign exchange, the establishment of a market for buying and selling foreign exchange deposit certificates, and other provisions concerning the surrender of exchange proceeds from exports and the application of exchange to cover imports.

The fact that China did a good deal of foreign trade after liberation in spite of the blockade, and the fact that she accumulated a large balance of foreign exchange after paying for her imports, were principally due to the speed with which the foreign trade and foreign exchange regulations were announced and the sureness with which these regulations were carried out.

4) *The introduction of the parity* unit system. The parity unit system was first introduced in Peking and Tientsin, but was later adopted in all important cities. Though the commodities used varied somewhat according to the requirements of different localities, the principle involved was the same.

Each parity unit is the sum of the prices for various convenient quantities of a selected number of commodities which are considered to be daily necessities. Thus the value of each unit varies according to the changing quotations of its component parts. The possesser of parity units can, therefore, rest assured that the purchasing power of his money is well protected.

For this reason, this system accomplished two important purposes. In the first place, it attracted idle money to the banks whose deposits were accordingly increased. Secondly, it stabilized the livelihood of the salaried workers and wage-earners because many cities adopted the parity unit system in their pay-rolls.

5) *The regulation of private banks.* Due to the uncontrolled inflation in recent years, private banks had almost entirely forsaken their primary functions and had engaged in hoarding, speculation and usurious practices. The government announced a set of regulations, the principal provisions of which included capital and reserve requirements, periodic reports, loaning policies and a clear definition as to what businesses private banks may do and what activities are strictly forbidden. The success of the government in eradicating speculation was, in part at least, due to the regulation of private financial institutions.

6) *The restoration of railway communications.* Raiways in all of China amounted to 26,857 kilometers, including Taiwan and Hainan; and by the end of 1949, according to the figures released by the Ministry of Railways of the Central People's Government, 24,749 kilometers had been liberated and traffic had been resumed on 21,046 kilometers. One thousand and eighty kilometers of railway were repaired in 85 days from January 15 to the end of March, 1949. Four thousand, four hundred and seventy-five kilometers were repaired from March to October. In addition, 2,655 kilometers were repaired from October to the end of the year. So by the beginning of 1950, China's railway system had been restored practically to pre-war figures.

Stage of Stabillzation

THOUGH many very important reforms were introduced during the preceding stage, hyper-inflation, the source of all our economic ills, had been left unchecked. With military operations still going on, the government's revenue fell far short of its expenditure, the issue of JMP notes continued to expand, and prices of commodities continued to climb. By the beginning of 1950 the liberation of the mainland was practically completed, and the government was in a position to bring about economic reforms more drastic in character and far-reaching in consequences.

February, 1950 saw a series of important conferences held in Peking to discuss effective measures for the unification of economic and financial control and the stabilization of commodity prices. The mottoes of these conferences were: "Absorption of idle money, establishment of treasuries and facilitation of the movement of cash as well as commodities from places of plenty to places of scarcity."

The decisions of these conferences were carried out with the speed, thoroughness and energy characteristic of the Communist Party. The original program called for the realization of the objectives of the government by the end of June; but by the middle of May the following significant results had already been achieved:

1) *The national budget was nearly balanced.* Revenue was greatly augmented by a vigorous sales campaign of Victory Bonds and strict enforcement of taxation regulations, while expenditure was drastically curtailed by rigorous measures of austerity and the elimination of corruption. Considering the fact that

the budget of the Chinese government in the recent past had never been actually balanced, and the fact that most governments in the world today have been struggling to make their ends meet, the balancing of the national budget by the people's government in such an astonishingly short time must be considered an outstanding accomplishment in public finance.

2) *Currency inflation was stopped.* Beginning from March, 1950 the vaults of the issuing department of the People's Bank were virtually sealed, and all needs for cash were to be met from that called in by the government banks from currency notes already in circulation. This program was greatly facilitated by a nation-wide wave of liquidation of commodities which caused an immense flow of currency notes back into the banks. In fact, the banks were flooded with so much cash that they began to worry as to what to do with it. For the first time in a decade and a half the Chinese government no longer relied upon the printing press to help finance deficit spending.

3) *Commodity prices were stabilized.* For years the Chinese people had been suffering from rising prices and declining purchasing power of money. Inflation had almost been taken as a matter of course. When the economic and financial measures were introduced in March of this year, even the central authorities hoped only that commodity prices might reach stability by the end of June. But under the composite influence of various anti-inflationary measures, the general price level slumped throughout March and April. The downward movement reached such proportions that the government had finally to find means to arrest the decline. Not until the middle of May did the liquidation run its course and a state of stability reached.

4) *Interest rates were forced down.* The erratic fluctuations of interest rates in the Chinese market in the past several years must forever remain one of the most exciting chapters in the financial history of this country. During the last few months of the Gold Yuan a rate of a hundred percent a day was not an uncommon occurrence in the Shanghai market. Even several months after liberation, the local rate still from time to time reached four or five percent per diem. High interest rate was both the cause and the effect of rising commodity prices.

Moreover, high interest rates kept idle money away from banks and deprived industries of necessary working capital. The success of the government in stabilizing commodity prices, together with official action in reducing interest rates, precipitated a spectacular decline in prices paid for the use of money. Before the second quarter of the current year was over, the interest rate had come down to an all-time low of 1.35 percent per month.

5) *Economic and financial control was unified.* For a number of years in the past there had been more or less provincial and local autonomy in economic and financial matters throughout the country. The control of the central government was so loose that sometimes it amounted to no more than a shadow. Provincial authorities not only used the revenues they collected in any way they liked, but constantly asked for subsidies from the central government.

On March 3, 1950 the Central People's Government issued a memorable decree placing all economic and financial matters under the control of the central authorities. The measures taken included the utilization of all commodities stored in public godowns and warehouses, the appropriation of all public grains collected from the farming population, and the establishment of a nation-wide network of public treasuries, to which all cash receipts of governmental organizations in excess of their immediate needs must be delivered and from which no disbursements could be made without the authorization of the Central People's Government.

Stage of Readjustment

THE drastic anti-inflationary measures taken during the second stage accomplished surprising results on the one hand, but created a number of rather serious problems on the other. The principal problems were the evaporation of artificial purchasing power that had been boosted by continuous currency expansion, the slump of business activity due to the shrinkage of spending, the deterioration of industrial conditions due to lack of markets and high cost of operations, the rapid increase of unemployment due to wholesale closure of industrial and commercial establishments, and, above all, the creation of a pessimistic attitude on the part of private enterprises regarding their future prospects.

To rectify this situation, the government decided to modify some of its policies and assure the public that its intention is not to kill but to encourage private initiative along many lines. Another series of conferences were called in Peking for this purpose. This time the motto was "the adjustment of relations between public and private enterprises." The implementation of the decisions at these conferences resulted in the following significant achievements:

1) *Assistance to industries and commerce.* To help private industries not only to tide over this critical period but also to make long range planning, the government did several things.

In certain cases where the difficulty was to find a market for their products, the government purchased a part or the whole of what they produced. In other cases where the difficulty lay not only in marketing their products but also in obtaining raw materials, the government furnished them with raw materials which they processed into finished or semi-finished goods for the government for a reasonable compensation.

In still other cases where the need was for working capital, the government made loans to them at favorable rates of interest. To help private commerce, the government not only marked up the quotations in the state-owned retail stores to competitive levels with private concerns, but decided to concentrate its own retail activities on a few lines essential to the people's livelihood, with the principal object of stabilizing prices and preventing profiteering.

2) *Reduction of taxes.* As the anti-inflationary program had been successfully completed, the government decided to reduce taxes to give the public a breathing spell. Since June, taxes on many lines have been either simplified or slashed. Even the public grain, an agricultural levy, which had been the principal source of supply of food in the hands of the government, was lightened. In cities of large population a new system called the "democratic appraisal of taxes" was introduced. By this system, the amount a tax-payer had to pay was decided, not by the government, but by the representatives of his own trade. This was done to make sure that the tax was just in the opinion of the public.

3) *Cooperation between state and private firms* in foreign trade. To help importers, the government liberalized foreign exchange allotments. To help exporters, the government granted loans and packing credits. Furthermore, the government demarcated the field of activities between state firms and private concerns in the field of foreign trade, so that private importers and exporters know exactly along which lines they are allowed to operate.

In this connection, it should also be noted that private firms were given the privilege of acting as agents for state enterprises, even in those lines in which the government has a monopoly.

4) *Encouragement to private banking* institutions. During the period of deflation, private banks were in great difficulty. They had practically no business, but had to meet very high expenses to keep their institutions going. Moreover, they were very much afraid that the rapid expansion of the banking activities of the People's Bank would soon drive them out of business.

When the government decided to readjust the relations between state and private enterprises, private banks also received due attention in this program. The authorities realized that these institutions, acting as agencies and custodians for private capital, still had a very important service to render the country at the present stage of new democracy.

For this reason, a nation-wide banking conference was called in Peking in August of this year. At this conference the authorities made it clear to private bankers that so long as they cooperate with the government in promoting production and legitimate trade, they will receive aid and encouragement from the government. The authorities also announced the field of activities in which private banking institutions may operate with the full approval of the government. In addition, private banks were promised that in case of shortage of capital they could re-mortgage their collateral loans with the People's Bank and in case of inability to loan out their surplus funds, they may redeposit their cash with the People's Bank at a fair rate of interest.

—*CHEN-NAN LI*

Paper Cut-Outs

PAPER cut-outs are a feature of Chinese peasant art. Each area has its characteristics. The cut-outs of Kwangtung and South China are full of landscapes, sinuous figures, dragons, boats and bridges. Those of Peking are intricate patterns of flowers, trees, butterflies and bats. Those of the Northwest are bold representations of animals, peasant life, horse riders, Buddhist legends, mice nibbling fruit or mythological figures dressed in the costumes of the opera stage.

The cut-outs reproduced here are all from the Northwest, partly because they are the best known and in most common use, partly because it was the Northwest China cut-outs which led to something of a revival of this art.

In 1941, cut-outs were "discovered" by teachers and students of the Lu Hsün Art Academy. Visiting peasant homes, they found women making such cut-outs in their spare time, some following traditional patterns, others with more originality creating their own designs, and a few whose skill and observation made their figures of people and animals come to life. The cut-outs were pasted on windows and walls to enliven dark homes or cave-homes, particularly at New Year, or for embroidery designs.

The Lu Hsün Academy teachers, however, saw in them much greater possibilities, both educational and artistic. Using the same technique but producing new designs they created the first of the "modern" cut-outs, ones which dealt with everyday peasant life, helped to encourage production, the opening of new land, the pursuit of side occupations, or outstanding figures such as labor heroes, people's militia, and anti-Japanese fighters. The names of the patterns were self-explanatory—"The Weaver," "Bringing in Firewood," "Harvest Celebration," "Bringing Public Grain," "Village Cooperative," "Learning to Read," and a host of others.

The new-style cut-outs were immediately popular. In bright colors, reds and greens and blues and yellows, they attracted attention and represented something of the changed and more prosperous conditions of a peasantry which was beginning to guide its own affairs. A big exhibition held in 1944, where old and new cut-outs were displayed, marked the turning-point of their revival.

Since then in many parts of the Northwest, such cut-outs have virtually displaced the old, superstitious New Year posters and window decorations. First-rank artists such as Ku Yuan have turned their attention to them, using them for propaganda and educational purposes, while the cut-out style has become a favorite one for book and magazine illustrators, enlivening pamphlets on public health and agriculture, *yangko* word books and plays.

The four designs reproduced here show two of the old designs—"Catching the Hens" and "A Country Woman," and two of the new—"Bringing In Wood" and "Harvesting" by Hsia Feng.

Two examples of the modern style

Japan's Revival Threatens Peace of Asia

Korean war highlights US policy of fostering revival of fascism in Japan. American occupation seen heading for crisis as conditions of people steadily deteriorate.

FIVE years ago Japan's aggressive adventure in Asia met defeat and her leaders—except Hirohito—faced trial as war criminals. The Allied occupation, with General MacArthur as the virtual dictator of Japan, was pledged to carry out the Potsdam Declaration to demilitarize and democratize the country.

In the beginning the occupation was marked by an at least outward attempt to democratize Japan. The Japanese Army was demobilized, the country was demilitarized, the trial of major war criminals was begun and a few were executed.

Old line imperialists were purged from public office. The zaibatsu were "officially disbanded." The emperor was relieved of his divinity and a new constitution was promulgated which made the Diet, as the highest organ of state power, directly responsible to the people.

Reforms Short-Lived

But these "experiments" soon began to peter out. For all practical purposes the occupation ended last year when SCAP (Supreme Commander for Allied Powers) supervisory teams were withdrawn from prefectures.

Washington had already unilaterally put a stop to the long reparations wrangle in May by cancelling further payments to Japan's victims. In September, MacArthur announced that fraternization was permitted.

Japanese merchant ships sailed for foreign ports, the stock exchange reopened and businessmen began visiting foreign countries.

Today Japan has recovered much of her pre-war heavy industrial potential. The zaibatsu, supposedly disbanded, have regained their throttlehold on the economy—as junior partners of American big business. Japan's "police" forces, expanded and rearmed, provide the foundation for a regular army. Japanese textiles and machinery, produced by cheap labor, are flooding Asian, South American and African markets.

While there has been a notably relaxed treatment of big business, MacArthur has begun a "de facto war" against labor, students and the Communist Party. Labor unions have lost the right to strike, or even to bargain collectively. Newspapers are raided by the police and summarily closed. Student leaders are arrested, while members of the Communist Party and other "unreliables" are banned from public activities.

Pattern Clearly Revealed

These developments have been brought to a head with the outbreak of hostilities in Korea. At last the pattern of post-war Japan is clearly revealed. The occupation—which Truman early declared an American occupation—has succeeded in its real aim of remaking defeated Japan, not into a democratic, demilitarized nation but into a western Pacific base and arsenal for America's anti-communist crusade.

America's abandonment of the Potsdam Declaration is clearly shown by the part it has played in the rebuilding of Japanese industry from its VJ Day state of chaos into its present active and close integration with American financial and military policy.

Japan's pre-war economy was organized by and for aggressive imperialism. The zaibatsu, the great financial-industrial-commercial monopolies, in partnership with the militarists, prevented the rise of an independent middle class. Industrial labor was denied the right to organize and the peasants were oppressed by feudalism.

The occupation gave lip-service to remedying these conditions, and the Pauley Reparations Commission Report (1946) said of the zaibatsu:

> "Not only were the zaibatsu as responsible for Japan's militarism as the militarists themselves, but they profited immensely by it. Even now, in defeat, they have actually strengthened their monopoly position. The industrial facilities owned or controlled by them stand relatively undamaged from the war, compared with thousands and thousands of small businessmen who have been wiped out. . . . As long as the zaibatsu survive, Japan will be their Japan."

Many "economic deconcentration" statutes were placed on the books, but when the purge program removed more than 2,000 wartime business leaders, a storm of protest arose, not only in Japan but from business groups in the US. Later, the campaign against the zaibatsu was quietly allowed to lapse.

Deconcentration Halted

Under the 1947 Economic Deconcentration Law, 325 major companies were told they would have to reorganize. By the end of the following year, 250 of these had been relieved of that necessity. SCAP furthermore decided that the law did not apply to the banks.

By early 1947 it was apparent that the Japanese economy was in bad shape. There was growing inflation and a widespread blackmarket, resulting from low industrial production, an unbalanced budget, heavy national debt and expansion of note issue. Both the government and SCAP's handling of economic issues were inadequate.

The Yoshida government at that time spent its efforts on controlling wages and prices, while doing nothing to put through a year-old tax plan to draw off war profits. The government followed a do-little policy, while blaming everything on the occupation, with the object of persuading the US to give more economic aid and to show leniency in reparations matters.

The living standards of the people had deteriorated far below the level of the grim wartime years, with the middle class, professional workers, teachers and government employees, along with most of the workers, especially hard hit.

One reason for this state of affairs was pointed out by the *New York Herald Tribune* in October 1947: "Japan's economy is being deliberately sabotaged in order to gain sympathy at the peace conference. . . . Japanese capitalists, industrialists and possibly government authorities are engaged in a concerted effort to slow down or halt the nation's reconstruction until a peace treaty is signed. . . Intrenched interests, emboldened by an occupation in many respects 'soft,' are making every effort to gain sympathy abroad. . . . The goal is minimum reparations payments and maximum foreign credits."

This goal was fully attained.

Demands Increase

MacArthur's nominal controls over the Japanese economy still exist, even after the sweeping concessions already made to the zaibatsu. But the latter, feeling their new strength as industrial and military allies of the US, have not been backward in pressing their demands for more steel production, more shipping, more chemical plants, more machinery production and more cotton spindles.

A peaceful Japan, devoted to increasing civilian production and increasing the people's living standards, would find economic outlets in assisting China and other Asian countries to industrialize. The competition British textiles and machinery, and Indian textiles, might meet would be based on fair competition and decent wage levels for Japanese labor. But this is not the way US policy has directed the Japanese economy.

Already Asia is being flooded with cheap Japanese merchandise, the majority of which is consumer goods. Meanwhile, US orders for military equipment have also bulked large. Mitsubishi, early this year, received an order for big guns, explosives, small arms and for the repair of 80 warships for the "Ocean Security Bureau."

The US desire to rehabilitate Japanese industry as quickly as possible found expression soon after the war in its shifting attitude toward the reparations problem. The Pauley Commission recommended early in 1946 that Japanese war potential be eliminated by destroying the capital goods-heavy industries erected by the militarists and the zaibatsu. Removals of Japanese plant and machinery were agreed to by the Far Eastern Commission.

While actual removal of materials was delayed by MacArthur, opposition to the Pauley plan grew in the US.

The debate continued as other committees and missions went to Japan. Finally the Johnston Committee report of 1948 reflected the US Army

campaign to retain Japan's heavy industry intact by setting reparations at an extremely low level.

Physical removal of equipment was slow. China received half of the final total, which consisted of only 50,000 tons of machinery.

In May of last year, the US announced that deliveries of reparations equipment were at an end. Japanese cheered in the streets while London received the news with resignation, pointing out that the "US policy of building up the Japanese economy may be carried to embarrassing lengths without due regard for security."

But the rosy glow of Japan's newly rising sun did not reach the masses of workers, intellectuals and small bourgeoisie. The upsurge of industrial activity produced great profits which were appropriated by the zaibatsu and their American partners. Meanwhile, the American taxpayer footed a big part of the occupation bill, with the rest being squeezed out of the Japanese worker.

Remarkably little is heard from SCAP about the serious plight of the people in MacArthur's Japan. But enough has been revealed to show that monopoly profits have produced the inevitable starvation wages and unemployment.

Early this year the Japanese House of Councillors were alarmed by the serious economic depression. An estimated one-fourth of Japan's more than 80,000,000 people—counting workers and their families—were victims of unemployment. Dr. Tagawa, a Christian leader, said in May that a depression worse than that of 1931 had set in.

The small businessman is also being squeezed out. The zaibatsu have grabbed 80 percent of Japanese industry, leaving little room for smaller operators, or for real competition. US financial aid to Japan, from "counterpart funds," totaled US$700,000,000 for the past two years.

Aid Helps Zaibatsu

For some of this, the zaizatsu got ships, heavy mining equipment, etc., and the Yoshida government reached an "informal understanding" with MacArthur for disposing of the US$250,000,000 assistance fund for 1950. Top priority was given to the electric power and shipbuilding industries, to the coal, steel and chemical industries and to "banking and financial organs," while "small and medium enterprises would receive some help."

To increase Japanese foreign trade, MacArthur decided that his de facto peace with Japan would permit Japanese "trade organizations" to be set up in Allied countries. Five cities in the US were designated as seats for these quasi-consular bodies, and MacArthur requested other nations to admit them.

During the first month of the war in Korea, SCAP made lavish use of the war plant it had built up in Japan. US "special procurement" orders for the month of July totaled nearly US$35,000,000. The bulk of this sum went for the construction of military bases in Japan and Okinawa, ship chartering and army materials.

At the end of the month, an additional US$20,000,000 worth of such "special procurement" orders were being negotiated. A *Kyodo News Agency* report indicated further inflation by saying that in September the currency issue "would reflect increased government disbursements."

Original MacArthur directives limited the police force to 125,000 men and decentralized the police system so as to remove the danger that the government in power might use the police force as a private army as had been done in pre-war Japan.

But this, too, has gone by the boards. A new 75,000-man reserve police force (in addition to the already existing force of 125,000 men) has been authorized. It is to be heavily armed and made extremely mobile and is under the direct control of the government.

New Police Recruits

More than 100,000 recruits turned up for the 75,000 jobs, but the director-general of the new service complained that there was a shortage of senior officers. He indicated that he could see no way of overcoming this shortage unless he was allowed to use former army officers who had been purged at the end of the war.

Meanwhile, the police force has been used to an ever greater extent to break up meetings and arrest workers.

SCAP's maneuvers on the labor front have been characterized by the same type of action.

The Trade Union Law of December 1945 guaranteed labor the right to organize, to bargain collectively and recognized the right to strike. Unionization grew rapidly, until by mid-1948 there were nearly 40,000 unions with a membership of more than 6,500,000.

However, labor had hardly begun to use its new rights before MacArthur and the Japanese government grew uneasy over the situation. At first strikes were allowed, but later, while still paying lip-service to labor's right to strike, it was announced that production must continue without interruption because of the great need to reconstruct Japan's economy.

Meanwhile, government and SCAP persecution of workers increased. Progressive workers were especially hounded. "Unreliable" teachers and government workers were dismissed and strikers were arrested by the thousands.

Labor unrest reached a peak early in June of this year when, after the arrest of eight persons who took part in the May 30 demonstration in Tokyo, a new wave of strikes broke out.

Permission for the demonstration had been given by the Tokyo police but was suddenly canceled on the preceding afternoon. On the 30th a scuffle developed in which American soldiers became involved. Eight Japanese were arrested, tried immediately and sentenced to five to 10 years at hard labor.

Labor Leaders Arrested

The National Council of Labor Unions, representing 3,000,000 organized workers, protested these sentences. SCAP replied by arresting four trade union leaders who signed an open letter of protest to MacArthur.

In the anti-Communist, anti-progressive campaign which entered an acute stage in June with the arrest of 41 Communist Party leaders, labor leaders and the rank and file began to feel more heavily the anti-labor policy of the government and the occupation.

Constitutional guarantees were openly flouted by the authorities in their zeal to extirpate the roots of opposition. Sato, chairman of the National Federation of Government and Public Workers' Unions, was arrested merely "on suspicion of obstructing the occupation forces." Recently it was reported that more than 3,000 Communist electrical workers were to be fired.

Workers' Struggle

Economically, the workers of Japan are now worse off than they were before the war. Their tax burden, figured on percentage of income, has doubled, rising from 14 percent prewar to 30 percent today. The average wage, including skilled workers, is the equivalent of US$5 per week. Real wages are half those of pre-war days, while the monopolists' profits have soared to 300 percent of the pre-war figure.

However, Japan's workers are continuing and intensifying the struggle to improve their conditions of work and livelihood, to fight for peace (5,000,000 have signed the Stockholm Peace Appeal) and to obtain a just peace treaty for their country.

The workers have had ample opportunity to realize that the guarantees given them a few years ago are worthless. They have gained nothing on the economic front and they are now losing their political rights in the face of a ruthless oppression.

Evidences of their fight to retain their freedoms is constantly available. The press, for example, recently reported that longshoremen refused to load war materials for Korea and early in July more than 1,000,000 organized workers greeted their Korean brothers, saying that they now had a common enemy—fascist repression.

As with the other constitutionally-guaranteed liberties in MacArthur's Japan, that of freedom of the press has also disappeared in the recent drive to wipe out all opposition to US policy.

Not only the Japanese press has suffered. Frank Hawley, Tokyo correspondent of the *London Times*, sent out a story early in June on MacArthur's communist purge. He said that "the banning of demonstrations last week was unconstitutional under Japanese law."

MacArthur's headquarters immediately informed Hawley that he was "persona non grata" and that he might be deported as a "security risk." MacArthur's chief of staff, General Almond stated that no correspondent should publish any news likely to interfere with MacArthur's objectives. Later, General Almond said that even if some of the passages in Hawley's story were true, "they should have been suppressed at this critical time for the US in Japan."

That section of the Japanese press opposed to MacArthur's rule suffered greatly beginning with the June drive against the Communist Party. The police were turned loose against

"undesirable" papers and hundreds of raids were carried out. By August, it was reported that more than a thousand Communist and "leftist" papers had been suspended, including the Communist Party organ *Akahata*.

The Japanese political scene today is reminiscent of the last days of the KMT in China. The Yoshida government, maintained by MacArthur's support and police-club rule, is playing a desperate game to remain in power in the face of widespread public opposition.

Yoshida used the police to such an extent in the period before this June's elections for the House of Councillors that even the Social-Democratic Party called it a "reign of terror." Hundreds of campaigners were arrested, but despite the attempt to frighten the progressive vote away from the polls, the Communist vote declined only slightly from the previous election, and the Social Democrats greatly increased their vote.

Massive corruption is indicated by press reports of bribery, gangsterism and smuggling rings. Drug addiction is much more prevalent than in prewar Japan and MacArthur is worried about its spread to US troops. The "thought police," supposedly disbanded, were found to be operating a huge bribery racket and had used their old contacts and influence to hush up a bribery investigation. They were found to have hampered the investigation of the notorious Showa Denko case which brought down the Ashida government in 1948.

New scandals appeared during the year, one of which involved Yoshida. Two of these were the Goi scandal and the discovery of large-scale graft in the government Mineral Products Agency. It was discovered that officials of 15 government corporations had made away with US$15,000,000 during the past year.

Peace Treaty Question

No aspect of the occupation of Japan points up the US dilemma more than does the peace treaty question. Resistance to continued American occupation has united almost all groups in the cry for a peace treaty. Despite the fact that the US has succeeded in buying off the corrupt Yoshida-zaibatsu clique who are willing to settle for a separate peace treaty with the US, and possibly some of the other Western powers, in return for granting military bases to the US, all progressive elements and many moderate groups are continuing to press for a peace treaty with all of the Big Five.

Other nations have added their voices to the cry for a formal peace treaty which will give Japan's former victims sufficient guarantees against future aggression. Britain opposed MacArthur's "de facto" peace which he announced at the beginning of this year, and wants an official peace treaty which will give some guarantee that the products of Japanese industry will not completely displace British products in her established markets.

Asian nations, too, look uneasily at Japan's rapidly increasing war potential. The Philippines, for one, wants a peace treaty in which all Asian nations will have a voice. China is insisting upon adherence to the original agreement which stipulated that the Big Five would hammer out a preliminary agreement for the treaty.

The US has attempted to solve its dilemma by delay. The "de facto" peace has permitted the occupation to continue, albeit uneasily, its policy of rearming Japan and supporting the Yoshida government in driving progressives out of public life and the labor unions. One thing has emerged from the confusion and contradiction: The US is determined to keep its bases in Japan, especially useful now since the beginning of intervention in Korea.

This is borne out by the fact that US procrastination over the peace treaty has not affected its enlarging of military bases in Japan, especially Yokosuka, one of 12 now occupied by US forces. Admiral Decker, to reassure the US taxpayer, recently stated that the US$600,000,000 base had cost nothing and was extremely cheap to maintain, since factories had been built there and commercial harbor facilities had been opened.

Prime Minister Yoshida, extremely sensitive to the nuances of US thinking, in June stated that the idea that the US would convert Japan into a military base was "foolish and unnecessary thinking." By July, however, he was reported to have offered the US military bases in exchange for an early separate peace treaty.

Five years after VJ-Day, the US finds itself riding the tiger in Japan. The American viceroy, MacArthur, despite the support of both Japanese and American third world war planners, faces the steadily growing resistance of the Japanese people. Police terror has not succeeded in clubbing the people into submission.

Against this situation, the dictates of American policy require that Japan be the main US military bastion in the west Pacific. The American intervention in Korea, far from cementing the US position in Japan, has further opened the eyes of the Japanese people to what the US has in store for them.

— *WILLIAM PAGET*

Dumping Ground for US Goods

American policy in Japan during the past five years has compelled the reactionary Yoshida government to admit surplus US goods at high prices, and to convert US "aid" and occupation costs into a four and a half billion dollar national debt.

* * *

THE enormous economic burdens of the US-dominated occupation of Japan have been borne by the semi-starved Japanese people and the American taxpayer. The Japanese people are impoverished and unemployment is high. But the old ruling class of Japan—the zaibatsu, bureaucrats and landlords—have regained much of their power as stooges of US big business, which now dominates Japan's finance and trade.

Official Japanese figures show that 80 percent of government revenues come from direct taxation of the people, while the greater part of government spending benefits big business—US and Japanese—and the military occupation.

The biggest item of government expense is paid directly to the occupation forces or is used to build military installations. Next is the "price adjustment fund," actually a fund to subsidize US and Japanese monopoly capital. The government buys domestic industrial materials and imported US goods at high prices and sells them 40 to 50 percent cheaper to zaibatsu factories, paying the difference out of the fund. This ensures high profits for producers and importers of industrial materials, and for manufacturers.

The third large item of government expenditure is for "public undertakings," a euphemisn for military works such as strategic highways and ports.

* * *

CONTROL of Japan's trade means big profits for US monopolies, which get rid of unsaleable surpluses by forcing them upon Japan at high prices. US "favorable balance of trade" with Japan averages $350,000,000 a year. Prices of materials imported from the US are higher than prices elsewhere: American coke is US $24 a ton, while Chinese coke is only US $11.

US big business also buys cheaply in Japan and sells dearly abroad. For example, Japanese cement, costing US $16 a ton, is sold at US $32. Last year, surplus goods piling up in Japan caused steep price declines, resulting in the dumping of Japanese goods abroad.

* * *

US "aid" and occupation expenses since VJ-day total nearly US $4,500,000,000. Now, by the "Aha Maru Agreement," the Yoshida government has turned this, as well as any further loans and occupation costs, into a public debt owed to the US Government.

The US occupation, contrary to official "aid" and "rehabilitation" ballyhoo, has in reality reduced the people to beggary. Without the combination of US monopoly and Japanese reaction, Japan by now might well have achieved a balanced economy, with a decent living standard for the people. Actually, Japan has been saddled with a huge, unpayable debt which has turned her into a semi-colony and military base of the US.

Above: New China's first woman locomotive crew.

Some of the members of the Central People's Go
Tan Ping-shan, Chang Po-chun, Chu Teh, Chairman
Tan Kah-kee, Shen Yen-ping (Mao Tun). Back row:
Ma Yin-chu, Tsai Chang, Chang Hsi-jo, Chen Shu-t
Ting-kai, Kao Kang.

Above: Destruction at the Shanghai Power Company's plant, bombed by KMT planes on February 6, 1950.

Below: Before and after view of one of the large bridges destroyed by the KMT, since rebuilt.

THE YEAR IN

Below: Scene at Tien An Men, Peking, on October 1, 1949

People's Government Council. Front row, left to right: Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Shen Chun-ju. Li Chi-shen, Back row: Chou En-lai, Hwang Yen-pei, Lin Po-chu, Chen Shu-tung, Ma Shu-lun, Ko Mo-jo, Li Li-san, Tsai

IN PICTURES

ober 1, 1949, when China's new government was proclaimed.

Above: Machinery comes to China's farms.

Above: PLA men take part in production movement.

Above: Farmer fishing over his flooded land.

Below: A north Kiangsu group of 7,500 building dyke.

Model Workers Lead Production Drive

Freed from bureaucratic and feudal exploitation, China's workers and peasants, led by labor heroes, are rapidly raising the country's agricultural and industrial output.

CHINA'S workers are going all-out in the nation's gigantic project of turning a feudal and backward nation into a modern democratic, industrialized society. Workers who previously had little or no interest in their jobs have enthusiastically joined in the nation-wide movement which makes the labor hero a respected and honored member of society.

In government and private enterprises, workers and technicians have contributed thousands of major and minor technical inventions and proposals for increased production and efficiency. In place of the untrammeled "free enterprise" Kuomintang days, when foreign technicians were solely relied upon for innovations, Chinese workers today are wholeheartedly contributing both brawn and brain to the building up of industry.

In the old days, the over-exploited worker had little incentive for contributing to an economy mainly engaged in yielding large profits to a handful of Chinese plutocrats and foreign companies. With the arrival of China's new government the working class has become the leader of new China. As such the worker has responded and from all over China have come details of labor heroes' efforts. Old factory executives, accustomed to sabotoge and slow-down under the Japanese and Kuomintang, have been flabbergasted by such recent phenomena as the "new record movement," the emulation drives, and the innovations advanced by thousands of workers.

New Cooperation

Veritably a revolution in itself for China has been the change in relations between workers and technicians. Many were the incidents in Kuomintang times when engineers, fully equipped with a brand new degree from an American or European university did nothing more than sit in an office making "plans." The reluctance of technicians to soil their hands was a commonplace affair. Today, in many factories and mines, technicians work side by side with laborers.

The "new record movement," which has swept down from China's industrial heart in the Northeast, has affected workers and technicians in hundreds of plants. Workers strive to achieve shop records rather than individual ones; but in the course of events, more individual records emerge to stimulate still more collective records. Originally concerned with individual records, the movement has gone on to the realm of collective records which are carried through by the cooperation of workers and technicians.

As the workers' enthusiasm spread to the technicians, theory became integrated with practice and the whole movement went forward with accelerated speed. Technicians went into the pits with miners, and they studied problems together. Cooperation increased the workers' desire for technical knowledge and at the same time the technicians learned from the men on the job. Today a technician is no longer merely one brain at work, he has the help of hundreds of workers' on-the-job experience, inventing every kind of device to improve work. By helping to systematize this, he further raises the general technicial standards.

One of the concrete results of worker-technician cooperation has been the "rationalization movement." This movement is devoted to bringing up proposals which will add to productivity, increase efficiency and cut down on waste. For example, workers in a glass factory in Dairen proposed that they come three minutes earlier so as to be able to start work exactly on time. As a result, many man-hours per day were saved. Recently a number of achievements were accomplished by both workers and technicians in the Mukden Smelting Plant, including the construction of a basic converter.

Shanghai's Number One labor hero, Chang Teh-chin, is shown with a group of fellow employees working on his coal gas generator. This invention has played a vital part in putting the city bus system on its feet.

One of the big drawbacks to Chinese industrial advancement has been the heritage from the Kuomintang. Subject to foreign domination, Chinese industry, in addition to relying on foreigners for technical advice, was greatly dependent on imports of vital machinery and parts from abroad. The "rationalization movement" has meant the discovery of methods of reproducing machine parts and materials formerly imported, such as turbine blades, ball bearings, silicon carbide, and many others. In Shanghai, electrodes, for welding metal, are now being manufactured. This has resulted from more than one year's experimental work by the Ta Cheng Electrical and Chemical Works. The factory's products compare favorably with the standard of foreign products. However, they cost only one-third the price of the imported electrodes, thereby resulting in a considerable saving of much needed foreign exchange.

Model Workers' Conferences

China's most industrialized city, Shanghai, held its first model workers' conference early in September. Representing industry, commerce, government and educational organs, 673 model workers, chosen from among thousands of candidates, took part. Most of the candidates had made valuable contributions to production and economy, suggested more efficient means of management, and engaged in rescue and repair work following the heavy bombing of Shanghai by Chiang Kai-shek's made-in-America air force on February 6.

For the participants in the gathering, as well as for the workers of the entire city, the honoring of workers was something to be remembered and a far cry from the not long passed Kuomintang days when labor struggled incessantly against both its exploiters and the government. Today, in China, the model worker has become a symbol of the most advanced element of the leading class in the drive to build a new nation.

Some of these labor heroes are medical workers, who, despite great difficulties, went to the countryside to treat the army. Others are people responsible for improvements to factory machinery, or who suggested a new business policy in order to overcome serious economic difficulties, or achieved new records in driving locomotives for more than 50,000 miles without accident.

On a nation-wide scale, a Combat Heroes and Model Workers' Conference opened in Peking on September 25 and was attended by hundreds of workers and PLA members. In preparation for this event, emulation campaigns were launched by workers in all

Veteran Shanghai Power Company worker Chang Shih-pao, led a group of fellow workers in making urgent repairs following the heaviest bombing of Shanghai by KMT American-made planes on February 6.

industrial centers. "Raise quality and reduce cost of production" was the slogan of this drive.

Scores of workers who made outstanding contributions to production were elected as delegates to the Peking conference. These delegates were selected from hundreds of candidates.

The nation-wide conference in Peking and the Shanghai conference marks the first time that a widespread movement of electing model workers has been organized. The movement is devoted to increasing production as well as inspiring China's workers with a new attitude towards labor. Government-owned and private factories and heavy and light industries were all the scene from which model workers were selected.

Shanghai Labor Heroes

A SYMBOL of the new era which China's workers have entered is Chang Teh-chin, chief engineer of the Shanghai Public Transport Company. With China suffering from a dearth of gasoline, which has to be imported, Chang's invention of a coal gas generator for the city's buses has been a vital factor in overcoming a great obstacle in the way of public transportation. The invention of this German and American trained engineer also has demonstrated the high caliber of Chinese technicians which will come to the fore once given the opportunity.

This new gas generator is installed on a trailer attached to the back of the bus which makes it possible to eliminate extra weight, load more coal, makes for easy connection to the gas engine, and at the same time in no way affects the passenger's comfort. The invention of Chang, who gave up a good job with the American-owned Texas Company in Shanghai, to join the Shanghai Public Transport Company, has already been installed on 160 of Shanghai's buses. According to well-qualified technicians, Chang's gas generator represents a definite improvement over all other gas producing machines which have been developed in Europe and America. This is primarily because it causes no encumbrances whatever to the performance of the vehicle, and has no adverse effects on the engine. The common defect of accumulation of residue, because of the combustion of coal, has been eliminated.

The savings resulting from the use of this new type of gas generator have been enormous, since coal in China is cheap and abundant while gasoline is limited and expensive. The use of coal as a substitute for gasoline has resulted in putting the company back on its feet financially. Much of the past year saw this public utility operating at a great loss. However, since the installation of Chang's invention the monthly deficit, which reached as much as JMP2,000,000,000, has been reduced to the point where the company is almost self-supporting. This has all been accomplished within the space of less than six months.

An example of a non-technical worker who has been acclaimed a labor hero for his efforts is Yu Chu-sheng, the winner of a special award for his services in the China Food Corporation. The story of his achievements was publicized on the red-papered *ch'iang pao* of the government company for all the staff to read.

This 44-year old model worker has been responsible for numerous innovations beneficial to his company. Yu devised a thermometer for testing rice stocks, which has greatly simplified the job of keeping the temperature even in the graneries and thereby preserving the huge stocks of rice. Among the other contributions of this member of the technical division of the China Food Corporation is a fumigating process, which resulted in the saving of 500,000 bags of rice. Yu also persisted in following through his urging of the company to use a scientific method of piling rice stocks in order to reduce the temperature of the store-rooms.

On the agricultural front the Chinese peasant has not stood still. A flow of creative energy on the part of China's largest occupational group has been released by land reform. Peasants have not waited to receive the modern mechanical equipment which is gradually being introduced in order to increase the nation's agricultural production. Many peasants have come forth with their own devices to help or replace the primitive utensils inherited from a feudal agricultural system.

In the Northeast, Liu Chao-tsun is one of many peasant inventors. This 69-year old peasant of Liaoning province is the originator of the "Four-Purpose Kaiping Harrow." Containing a wheel base, it can be drawn by a small draught animal; its seed box spreads the seed, over which the soil is pressed by a wooden roller at its rear. One man and an animal are thus able to do the work for which the old type of harrow required four people.

Recently this elderly peasant was elected as a delegate to a conference of rural labor heroes and model workers and to the People's Representative's Conference of Liaoning Province.

Inventions Encouraged

INCREASED activity on the part of workers is expected following the government's passing of measures for the encouragement of inventions. Special organs are to be set up in large public enterprises to help workers, technicians and employees to try out inventions, technical improvements and rationalization proposals, put the successful ones into operation and decide on remuneration to be given the inventors or proposers.

A direct measure for the purpose of speeding up the restoration and development of industry and agriculture, regulations have been passed designed to protect invention and patent rights—a far cry from Kuomintang rule. The total number of inventions registered with the Kuomintang government during its 20-year reign and for which patent rights were secured was only a little more than 600.

In the short period of liberation China has already witnessed great successes by the working class as it assumes its leadership of the new state. The fundamental change in both outlook and actual participation by the workers of China today, when compared to the lethergic state under the Kuomintang, has been one of the products of the victory of the Chinese people's revolution.

— ALEC STOCK

Yu Chu-sheng, who saved 500,000 bags of rice is one of Shanghai's top labor heroes.

A Visit to the Great Wall

THE train for Ch'ing Lung Ch'iao, a small village on the Peking-Suiyuan railway, leaves Peking Station at 7:30 in the morning. When we arrived at the station the place was already full of activity as several hundred railway workers were taking the same train for an all-day excursion. In our party of four were two Chinese and two foreigners; the formalities for permit inspection necessary for all foreigners who travel outside of a 25-li radius of Peking took place quickly and smoothly.

Immediately we made our way to the clean and comfortable "soft-seat" carriage, where we found that most of the other passengers were students and professors. Almost everyone was wearing the blue-grey cotton clothes so common everywhere in Peking.

Posters on Walls

On the sides of the carriage were two attractively printed colored posters, one emphasizing the importance of production and the other an anti-disease poster urging people to keep food and water covered up. Across the aisle hung a hand-drawn poster on the subject of the Korean conflict, ridiculing MacArthur and Syngman Rhee.

The train, a local which stopped at every station along the way, left on schedule, passed through the Peking environs, the Western hills rising clearly to the west, then on into the Nantao valley. The carriage was in holiday mood. The sale of tea and cakes was brisk. Candy and bread, cigarettes and magazines, study books and notebooks, were purveyed in big baskets.

At one of the halts, a peasant, 12-inch pipe in his mouth, enormous straw hat on his head and two huge parcels under both arms, hurried into our carriage and drawled: "This isn't a baby car too, is it?" looking dubiously at two young girls in our car. Everyone laughed, for it was evident that he had been evacuated from the baby car specially reserved for families with young babies where no smoking is allowed. He found a seat and drew contentedly on his pipe.

In three hours we were at Ch'ing Lung Ch'iao. We had already had glimpses of the Wall and from the station long stretches were clearly visible. It was over this route that caravans carried tea through Mongolia to Siberia and on to parts of Europe. And it was probably along this route that Marco Polo came overland from Europe to China in the 13th century.

The Wall itself, a magnificent feat of engineering, begins at Shanhaikwan at the seacoast and extends into Kansu province in the far west. First built by Ch'iu Shih Huang Ti of the Tsin dynasty (221 B.C.) and added to and rebuilt many times (the parts now in good condition are supposed to have been built in the 14th century), the Wall was designed to protect the country from foreign invaders.

Donkeys for Hire

Once at the station little time was wasted. Everyone started climbing up toward the pass and from the valley the hillside was dotted with blue patches as the more energetic ones hurried up. Some, more leisurely than others, paused to catch cicadas.

Halfway to the Wall we were met by scores of peasants with donkeys for hire. Shrewdly they pointed out that to walk to the Wall was rather far and would take time, and that we should save our energy for the climb on the Wall. One in our party succumbed, more for the novelty of trying out the donkey than for saving strength. The fourteen-year old donkey boy walked alongside pointing out historical landmarks. Within 20 minutes we had reached the Wall and were climbing on the fortress itself.

Hsiao Yen, the donkey boy, tied his donkey to a post and attached himself to us as a guide, pointing to where Inner Mongolia lay across the hills, telling us of the times when in the hills just north of the Wall guerilla troops had fought throughout the Japanese occupation and later against the Kuomintang.

After climbing for half an hour, we stopped on the highest point at one of the many improvised tea stalls set up along this section of the Wall. At these stalls—a few stones from the Wall were arranged as seats and a table, with kettle and bowls atop—you can have all the tea you want for 1,000 JMP (about three cents US) per head. Sitting in a protected corner of the Wall, we were looking out over the mountains, with the plain of Chahar on one side, on the other through the hills the Hopei plain, and at the Wall itself winding like a serpent over mountain tops, falling out of sight in valleys and reappearing again.

"Struggle Fruits"

On our descent, Hsiao Yen suggested that we visit Black Dragon Spring a few miles away, and this time with two of our party firmly seated on donkeys, we started off.

We asked Hsiao Yen how much it cost to buy a donkey like his which had a particularly sleek coat. He burst into a big grin, pointed proudly to his donkey and said: "Do-cheng Kuo-shih ("Struggle Fruit"). Our family got this donkey when we 'struggled' with the landlord during land reform two years ago. That donkey too," he added pointing to the other one, "is a struggle fruit."

The son of a poor peasant with seven members in the family, before land reform Hsiao Yen's family owned 20 *mow*, (about 3½ acres) a lot for a poor peasant until one remembers that land in this area is very rocky and crops of millet thin. After land reform the family received an additional eight *mow* so that now they own a total of 28 *mow*.

"What are things like now?" we asked. "A bit better," he said seriously.

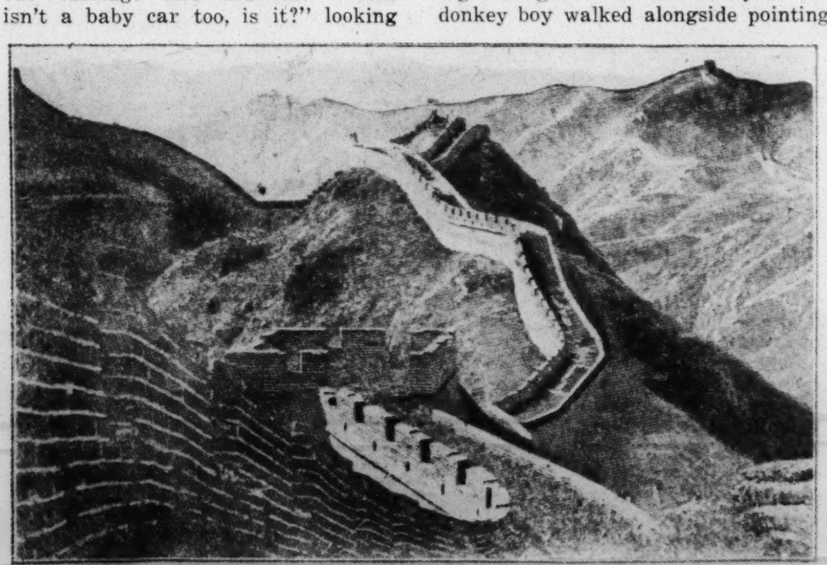
"Do you eat any meat now?"

"Oh, no," he replied.

"Well, just how are you better off?"

"It's like this," he said. "We still eat millet and vegetables but now we have enough. We can put some aside. We're not hungry anymore. And besides that we live in a better house, three rooms instead of two. It's a stronger house than the old one we had."

"How about clothing?" we continued. "You are well dressed yourself," pointing to his striped black and white cotton pants, his black cotton



The Great Wall at Nankow

jacket and cloth shoes, "but what about the others in your family?"

"Oh, these clothes of mine are 'struggle fruits' too," Hsiao Yen said proudly, "a little better than what most others have. But the rest of the family has enough clothing now. There's enough. The landlord tried to hide all his best clothes in a back room, till we poor peasants rushed in and found them. But now they tell me when they 'struggle' with landlords in other parts they don't take clothes and such like any more."

All afternoon Hsiao Yen stayed with us looking after the two donkeys, pointing out the abandoned Japanese-built fortifications, the famous springs and beauty spots of the district. He made it clear that he couldn't understand why two city people who to him obviously had enough money to afford to ride donkeys preferred to walk.

During our walk we passed by the village itself. To our superficial glance it still looked poor, the traditional cluster of mud houses inside a small wall.

Village Changing

Hsiao Yen told us of the changes in the village. He said, for example, that recently a consumer's cooperative had been set up in the village; share capital required for membership was two and a half catties of millet. He told us of equality between peasants, a rich peasant no longer any better than a poor one, and of how no man was allowed to beat his wife anymore.

Then back home by "hard seats," once called third class, a three-hour ride for JMP 7,400 or about 25 cents in American money.

At the station were colorful posters urging peasants to join literacy classes and the railway workers to excel in "safety month." We joined the orderly queues forming on the platform for the train to pull in. This time the carriage overflowed with returning railway workers, students, teachers and others, all a little tired but happy from a day in the country.

Already in the carriage were a group of peasants from Paotou going to Peking to discuss business. Across the aisle from us four of them, older men dressed in white jackets and black trousers, were exchanging notes on rural conditions. These particular four were representatives of their local peasants' associations.

At first there seemed to be very little fraternization between the city people and the peasants but gradually the reserve broke down and the two groups were exchanging news about each other. And one peasant, very frugal in his consumption of tobacco (he took only a few puffs each time he lighted up) offered his pipe to the workers sitting on the same bench.

These days town and country are drawing closer.

— *Y. L. S.*

A Short Story

The Watermelon Seeds

by W. F. Chow (周五栽)

This is a true story which describes the improved conditions of a farmer, Wu Len-sung, of north Kiangsu, following land reform in his district. The story was originally written in Chinese and published in the supplement of the Sin Wen Jih Pao *on July 15 of this year. This English-language translation was made by the author.*

* * *

IN the heat of summer, the one person welcomed most heartily by our children is Old Wu, the watermelon man. Old Wu is not really an expert melon grower; he's really a wheat farmer. But it happened that he had a little plot of land, high and dry, just right for growing watermelons.

So, every year for a long time he planted melons in the little patch. If the rain didn't come down too hard and wash out the vines, he could make a little extra money by selling the melons. But it wasn't worth going to a lot of trouble over, so Old Wu never expanded his melon patch.

With such a small melon crop, Old Wu never bothered to sell them in the market. He kept them for his old customers, among whom our family is numbered. Every spring, as the weather got hotter and hotter, the children's anxiety over Old Wu's first appearance increased. They watched for him every day.

He would always bring three or four small, ripe melons especially for the children. When he left, he would ask them to save the seeds of the best melon for him to plant the following year.

We had a joke with Old Wu over this. Every time he asked the children to save the seeds, we would smile and say, "Isn't it funny that a melon grower has to ask his customers for seeds? It seems to bear out the old saying about carrying stones to the mountain."

And he would answer, "Ah, do you think it's so strange? You know, we farmers are poor, and for us to eat melons is a great luxury. I let my greedy youngsters have a little one, only a taste, as a reward for the work they do in the fields. But only very seldom, and so there aren't enough seeds for me to plant the next year. It's like the proverb says, 'The daughter of the cosmetics peddler has to comb her hair with water'."

* * *

THIS summer, Old Wu came again, once more bringing his melons, with the special small ones for the children. But this time, as he was preparing to leave, he didn't ask the children to save him the best seeds. One of them said, warningly, "Old friend, haven't you forgotten something?"

The old man stood stock-still, a worried look on his face. He looked at his fan in one hand, his straw hat in the other; then he peered into his two empty baskets. He shook his head. "I don't think I've lost anything. What have I forgotten?"

The boy replied, "You have forgotten to ask us to keep the best watermelon seeds for you."

Old Wu smiled. "Oh, yes . . . but from now on, you don't have to save them for me. Thank you very much for your kindness."

"Aren't you going to plant watermelons next year?" we asked.

"Oh, it isn't that," he was anxious to reassure us. "Since the agrarian reform last year, we now have more land. We grow more grain, and this year we had more melons. We had so many that there were enough for my youngsters to eat. They already have kept enough seeds for next year, so I won't have to bother you any more with these trifles."

"Since your children work so hard in the fields, they deserve to share in the good things you grow," we replied. "We are very glad to hear that your living is much better now."

"Yes, thanks," Old Wu replied, "we live much better than before. All parents love their children, and I do too; but in the former hard days, we couldn't give them very much." He picked up his baskets and went toward the gate, a smile on his face.

Our boys hopped around him, singing:

Now that the reactionary rule is over,
The girls dress their hair with oil,
The melon grower has his own melon seeds,
And grain grows on the farmers' own land!

Shanghai Educators Visit North China

Professors and teachers record their varied reactions to a month's trip to Peking and Tientsin. All are convinced they saw a glimpse of the new China.

HUBERT S. LIANG is professor of journalism at St. John's University and was vice-chairman of the group of Shanghai educators who recently visited North China. The chairman of the group was Professor Liu Fu-nien, principal of the Shanghai Normal School and vice-chairman of the Shanghai Educational Workers' Union.—Editor.

RECENTLY an intensely interesting meeting took place in the "White House" on the campus of St. John's University in Shanghai. The meeting was attended by 36 professors and teachers representing more than a dozen universities, colleges and schools including Chiao Tung University, Fu Tan University, St. John's University, the University of Shanghai, Chen Ming College of Arts, Min Chih School of Journalism, the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, the Shanghai Normal School and Wei Yu School. The purpose of the meeting was to recount and recapitulate the experiences, impressions and observations of these educational workers of their one-month "reconnoitering" trip to Peking and Tientsin.

First of its kind, the trip was arranged under the auspices of the Shanghai Educational Workers' Union whose membership embraces practically all the educational workers in this metropolis. While in Peking, members of the Shanghai visiting group were the guests of the Peking Educational Workers' Union. The solicitude and hospitality shown the Shanghai group by their Peking hosts could only be matched by that shown to intimate friends.

Well-Balanced Schedule

In close consultation with the Shanghai visiting group, the Peking Reception Committee mapped out a well-balanced schedule. Highlights of the program were a conference with the Minister of Education, Vice-Minister of Education and other high ranking officials of the Ministry; and a series of visits to the leading universities and colleges in Peking, including the two new model institutions of learning—the Revolutionary College and the People's University—the Agricultural College and its collective farm, Peking University and the National Normal College.

In each of these institutions extended discussion meetings were held. And at the conference with the authorities of the Ministry of Education the group was greatly impressed with the democratic and cordial atmosphere prevailing at that gathering. These authorities earnestly and methodically outlined for the group the new educational policies of the government based upon the Common Program and the New Democracy, and asked for their opinions. The bureaucratic spirit and official air, which were the curse of the Kuomintang and the Mandarins before them, were conspicuous by their absence.

Additional to these visits and conferences in the different universities and educational institutions, the group spent an afternoon at one of Peking's model prisons, the Labor Reformatory, where political prisoners, several of whom have a few murders to their credit, were literally reformed into decent men and women through labor and education.

To climax their experiences in Peking the group spent a full day in one of the nearby villages studying at first hand conditions following the land reform in that village. Here the members of the Shanghai visiting group, as in the other places they visited, were given the opportunity to ask most freely any questions they wished of the landlords, the rich farmers, the middle farmers and the tenant or poor farmers.

After some three weeks in Peking the group moved on to Tientsin where they visited a number of factories and the new harbor at Tangku. In both Peking and Tientsin the group lived together like one big family. For some members of the group, it was their first real taste of collective living.

What are the reactions, impressions and observations of the group of their north China trip?

The answers and statements given by the various members of the group are highly illuminating.

* * *

Proud to Be Chinese

"I CERTAINLY learned a great deal with this trip," confessed Miss Chow Kwang-jen, noted pianist of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. "Indeed for the first time in my life I feel most proud to be a Chinese. As never before this trip opened my eyes to China's great past and her most promising future, especially under our new government which, from what I saw in Peking and Tientsin and all along the way, is always thinking, planning and working for the welfare of the people."

"The railway reconstruction and the orderliness and efficiency with which trains are being run impressed me most deeply," pointed out Dr. B. H. Li, professor of economics of St. John's University. "I visited Europe in 1923. Not even the railways of Soviet Russia in those days were in such good shape as ours today. And that was nine years after the revolution whereas our people's government has had noly one or two years to do the repairing and the reconstruction.

"On our return trip it so happened that the train ferry between Pukow and Nanking was temporarily out of commission. We were quite worried about our luggage as each of us had four or five pieces. But the helpful and efficient red-caps resolved our worry and anxiety. They helped us to put our bags on the ferry boat from the Pukow station and in relays on the bus which carried us to the Nanking station, and then on the train for Shanghai. These red-caps were most efficient and courteous. What a contrast to their behavior in the old days!"

"And," added Professor Wu Tao-chen, of the Chen Ming College of Arts, "I must say that the express between Peking and Tientsin is very fast and comfortable. Did you notice that all the workers on that train were women? All of them were so efficient, courteous, neat and trim. As far as being on time is concerned, all the trains we travelled on certainly arrived and departed on the dot."

Meaning of Land Reform

"Now I know what land reform really means," declared Miss Jane Muh, proctor of the Wei Yu School, recalling the trip the group made to Pa Li Chwang, a village about six miles from the city of Peking. "Land reform means real happiness for the greatest majority of the Chinese people. It means a new deal and a new life for millions of Chinese farmers now and in the years to come.

"I was told that one of the tenant farmers who never had owned any land before was so happy to have been given five *mou* of land by the government that he carries the title deed of the land with him wherever he goes and proudly shows it to any one who cares to see.

"The landlords whom we saw in that village and with whom we talked were not badly treated either. They still have enough land to till to support themselves and their families, and they still have their own houses to live in.

"What the people in that village like best, landlords and tenant farmers alike, is the single annual tax the new government levies instead of the multitudinous taxes levied during the Kuomintang days. Since everybody is required to work and everybody has work to do, the state of law and order in that village, according to the reports of the people with whom I talked, is much better than before. Theft during both daytime and at night was a common thing in that village in the past. But now, the villagers said, they can sleep with their front doors wide open and no one would intrude."

"It was an exciting and memorable experience," asserted Mr. Chow Wei, agricultural chemist of Fu Tan University, "to have visited the Agricultural College and its collective farm at Lukouchiao (the Marco Polo Bridge). To see those young students, boys and girls, some of whom come from rich and well-to-do families in the big cities, living their lives like farmers, cooking their own meals, washing their own clothes, digging and cleaning their own latrines, soiling and blistering their hands and feet, working in the fields, rain or shine, and acquiring a college educa-

tion at the same time, is an experience one can never forget.

"There on that collective farm we saw a real conjunction between theory and practice, we saw the coming together of the farmer and the scholar, and above all we saw the shape of the things to come of the rising new China."

"To me," said Professor Wong Shu-djang, of Chiao Tung University, "one of the high points of our experience in Peking was our visit to the Labor Reformatory that afternoon. Instead of being treated as criminals, these secret agents and murderers were treated as if they were students who were taught to change their way of thinking and behaving, not through torture or coercion but through persuasion and example. Above all they are taught to respect labor and it is through laboring with their own hands that they come to appreciate and value the importance of work.

"These people got to be what they were because of their love of ease, luxury, money and power. Their minds were poisoned by the Kuomintang propaganda, especially against the Communists. After a time in this reformatory they were readily made to see their mistakes. Except for the most incorrigible ones, political prisoners are placed in this prison and given a new start in life.

Prisoners Well Treated

"From what we saw, these prisoners, who were allowed to live in groups in their cells, were well cared for physically. In one of the cells we visited the prisoners were arguing heatedly among themselves on some point of Chinese history as having a particular bearing upon the present situation. One of the workers in this reformatory was a former warden of the same prison in the Kuomintang days. He contrasted for us most vividly the treatment the political prisoners received in those days and the treatment the political prisoners now receive since the liberation."

"What impressed and delighted me the most," declared Professor Liu Funien, principal of the Shanghai Normal School, "was the democratic spirit we witnessed everywhere in Peking. There, it seems, everyone feels that he is just as important as everybody else, no matter what may be his station in life. One dresses as freely as one wishes and nobody seems to care anything about it.

"Perhaps nowhere is this spirit of democracy and freedom manifested better than in the theater where we saw two modernized plays. There people in short sleeves mingled freely with those in uniforms or in long gowns, and there everyone is treated alike, be he a government official, an army officer, a professor or just an ordinary factory worker. Indeed I saw more people in their shirt sleeves in those audiences than people in any other kind of dress, freely fanning themselves and enjoying the play. It was certainly an example of how the common people in China are really coming into their own."

Workers' New Deal

"The factory workers we saw in the Tientsin factories were truly a revelation to us," reported Mr. Sun Jo-djien, of the Department of History of St. John's University. "I saw them at work and talked with some of them. They all feel that liberation has brought them a new deal. Before, they said, they worked for their employers, whereas now they feel that they are working for themselves. They feel that these are their own factories. And because of this feeling of ownership on their part they are willing to go through any kind of sacrifice to help step up production or to save a piece of equipment.

"For instance in a steel mill we visited, a worker would crawl in and out of a super-heated furnace, a highly dangerous procedure, to make an urgent and necessary repair, a thing no one would have volunteered to do before the liberation. As a whole the factory workers in Tientsin are getting better pay than they did before the liberation.

"But the most notable thing, according to the manager of one plant we visited, is the changed attitude and spirit on the part of the workers. Before, all they cared for was money and more money but now it is the recognition from their fellow workers and the satisfaction they get from feeling that they are really working for the people."

"The simple and hard-working life of the government workers was what impressed me the most in Peking," said Professor Lin Chu-tai, also of the Department of History of St. John's University. "The average pay of these civil employees is no more than that of an ordinary factory worker, sometimes less. And yet they do not complain, only work quietly and busily at their jobs. They realize that they are in the service of the people and for the people they are willing to make the sacrifice.

"This spirit of service and sacrifice is also shared by many educational workers in Peking. In some institutions of higher learning some professors or instructors walk five or six miles a day to get to their schools in the morning and back to their homes in the evening and carry their own lunches, usually in the form of some steamed or baked bread or *man tou*. But they are devoted to their work and are greatly admired and respected by their students.

"In most cases students fare no better. Never before have the teachers and students worked together as they do in Peking, all facing a common objective, the objective of a reconstructed new China."

* * *

Government Is the People

I HAVE not visited Peking since 1937 when the Japanese started their armed invasion of north China. Throughout my stay in Peking this time I could not help contrasting Peking of those days, when I taught at Yenching University, and the Peking of today.

In outward appearances Peking today looks about the same, only it is neater and more orderly. But the atmosphere and spirit prevailing in and around Peking are altogether new. Before, there was always a sort of evening atmosphere about Peking, constantly under the shadow of an aggressive, rapacious imperialistic and militaristic Japan who was ever ready to pounce upon it and grab it at the very first opportunity.

But now that threat is removed, and Peking today really breathes the air of freedom. A senile and helpless Peking has now given way to a new and vigorous Peking, and a Peking of great promise. A new day has dawned for this ancient city and this ancient country.

To those who still ask: "How long can or will this government last?" my answer is: "It has come to stay and to stay for good." Certain phases of the government may and will change, but its basic policies as outlined by Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his New Democracy will remain and will have to remain for a long, long time, because these policies are dictated by China's objective conditions and by the needs and demands of the Chinese people. Indeed, the government in China today is, as it should be in all countries, the people.

— *HUBERT S. LIANG*

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

the progressive newsweekly

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"Hsueh Hsi" in a Government Ministry

New group study system in Ministry of Posts and Tele-Communications has increased political and cultural level of workers, and aided in improving organization's work.

FOLLOWING the establishment of the people's government of China on October 1, 1949, the nation's postal and telegraph services were united under the direction of the Ministry of Posts and Tele-Communications. It was decided to unify the two services in order to give better service to the people, and the job was tackled with the help of the USSR's experience in solving the organizational problems encountered.

DUNCAN C. LEE has been a contributor to the Review for the past several years. He has written upon a number of subjects, but has most frequently dealt with various aspects of the country's postal service, with which he is connected. Recently transferred to Peking, Mr. Lee discusses in this article his impressions of daily work and life in the head office of the Ministry of Posts and Tele-Communications. Mr. Lee's last previous article appeared in the August 5 issue of the Review.—Editor.

No Easy Task

It was not an easy task to unify the sister services, which had many differences in organization, business policy and personnel system. In KMT days, unification was impossible, largely because the government feared a powerful, united union of the well-organized workers, but also because many workers themselves were loyal to their own organization.

Now, the ministry staff in Peking numbers nearly 100 postal and telegraph workers from all over China, with diverse experience and background. Nevertheless, in a new spirit of service and mutual help, harmony prevails. The *hsueh hsi* (study) groups, participated in by all, contribute greatly to this friendly, democratic spirit, as well as raising the political consciousness of the staff members.

Among the staff are some veteran communist workers, including a few who took part in the famous Long March from Kiangsi to north Shensi. These workers guide the staff, both in office work and in the *hsueh hsi* groups.

These groups are regarded as a very important part of the work—equally important, perhaps, as the regular office work. The staff is divided into several groups according to departments. Each group chooses one person, usually one politically advanced, as the group chief or leader.

Every morning, one hour is set aside for group study and discussion. The All-China Federation of Labor Unions selects some questions for discussion for all organizations in Peking. To date, we have taken up the questions of famine relief, unemployment, unified control of China's economy and finance, Chairman Mao Tse-tung's "Struggle for a Basic Turn for the Better in the Financial and Economic Situation of the State," and the labor union organic law.

In our group, each member is encouraged to air his views, doubts and opinions, whether in agreement or opposition with the documents under discussion. The exchange of views is lively, and is carried out in a democratic atmosphere which I had not encountered in Shanghai.

The old communists on the staff take every opportunity to help their fellow staff members. If the workers in one department can't finish a task within office hours, the communist workers will rally around to help them out.

When I came from Shanghai to work in the ministry, I was much impressed with these workers' honesty and straight-forwardness. They earnestly and carefully consider all questions addressed to them, official or personal in nature. Though they expressed no criticism of my western clothes, I was embarrassed by the contrast with their plain attire; but they tried to make me more at ease by saying that when most of the people could afford such clothes, they would wear them too. Nevertheless, I willingly changed my western suit for the simple cotton garb they wore.

Democracy has simplified the style of addressing one's fellow-workers. Irrespective of age, sex or position, the new way is to call him or her "T'ung chih" (comrade). After 14 years in the Post Office, with the more formal "Mr." or "Miss," I am now getting accustomed to addressing others as "comrade" and hearing myself called "Comrade Lee."

New Free Spirit

I felt the new free spirit immediately when I came to Peking, but I was still very surprised, early in my study-group experience, when one of the staff strongly opposed the views of the minister's first assistant. He said, bluntly, "Comrade, I am opposed to your point of view," and gave his reasons. I was the more amazed to see the chief accept his opponent's view with little demur.

This incident led me to think of former KMT days. Then, there were no such study groups, with high officials taking part with ordinary workers. And if a subordinate discussed a question with his superior, he would not have dared to be so frank. And as for calling him "comrade," that was unheard-of. But after a short time in Peking, I lost my amazement, for this is now the common democratic practice here in all organizations, big and small.

The most interesting study group is made up of our "work friends" (office boys and servants). They often bring up various questions in their discussions, which we have never thought of. The "work-friends" study even more diligently than we staff workers.

One of them is called Chia Tien-hsuan, a former peasant from Shantung. At first he knew only a few characters, but is now conversant with many more, including almost all the political terms we use constantly. He was very eager to learn, and when he discovered that there were so many interesting things he didn't know, he plunged in and tried to learn everything at once.

He reads and writes a lot, and regularly attends the classes specially held for the "work-friends" outside of working hours. He is never idle, day or night. He often asks us such questions as, "What is revolution?" "What is the difference between literature and science?" "What is socialism, and what is the people's democracy?" Now, while we are quite familiar with these terms, and use them frequently, his questions are sometimes embarrassing, because often we have not carefully thought out clear definitions in our own minds.

Chia Tien-hsuan is making striking progress through constant questioning and diligent study. He is learning arithmetic as well as politics, and when he gets the right answers he is highly elated and encouraged to make even greater effort.

Difficult Questions

In our own group, we often come upon questions which we are unable to answer, questions which call for a specialist to answer. We discuss these questions, and if we are not satisfied we "reflect" (send on) the question and our opinions to the general *hsueh hsi* group of the General Postal and Telegraph Labor Union. The union then invites well-known people to come and lecture on the problem. All postal and telegraph workers in Peking are invited to attend such talks. On the day following such a talk, we discuss it in our *hsueh hsi* group.

Some members of our group do not like to speak. No matter if they think others' opinions are right or wrong, they prefer to keep silent, rather than adding their own opinion or disagreeing with someone else. The group leader encourages the silent ones to speak; if they persist in being silent, they are criticized. Most of them, once they have overcome their difficulty and embarrassment, astonish us by the sensible things they say. In this way, everyone in the group is led to take part in the discussion and becomes accustomed to speaking.

One of the hardest practical problems solved by our *hsueh hsi* group was that of salary readjustment for the former employees of the telegraph office who were re-employed after some months' training. This would have been a very hard nut to crack if it hadn't been put before the group.

First, the First Assistant to the Minister and the Personnel Department Chief gave us some suggestions and then left the matter up to our

group. We discussed the problem at length, and at last agreed that each member should write out his suggested salary for the workers. These suggestions were than passed to the executive branch for consideration.

When the day came for the announcement of salary levels to the joint hsuehhsi group, everyone was a little nervous, especially those whose salaries were to be fixed. The assistant to the Minister made a speech, emphasizing many important points in regard to the salary question.

His speech was well made and we were all persuaded of the justice of the new salary levels. One of the workers concerned said that, although the decision on salaries would entitle him to a higher rate of pay, he wished to remain on his present level, since everyone should sacrifice something to help the government and people tide over the present hard times.

This incident illustrates the cooperation and comradeship which prevail in our ministry. No one assumes great self-importance or puts on haughty airs. From the minister down, everyone maintains a friendly, unassuming attitude. The higher officials always consult with their subordinates for advice on important issues, and they always consider the advice and opinions of the staff in making a decision.

In dealing with matters involving both posts and telegraphs the chiefs of the two departments come to the ministry one hour a week, set aside for the purpose, for joint discussion and solution of mutual problems.

Retrenchment and Austerity

Recently, in response to the call of the Central Government Administration Council, a nationwide retrenchment and austerity campaign was launched. Our minister, Chu Hsueh-fan, speaking of the best way to practice austerity, strongly stressed the use of criticism and self-criticism to help stamp out any waste of materials or energy. He emphasized the point that in giving criticism, virtues must be pointed out as well as defects.

As a result of a two-week discussion of the problem of austerity, a large quantity of materials and machine parts, long since thrown aside as no longer useful, was retrieved and put to use.

In the Peking telegraph office alone, 1,230 usable telegraph and telephone sets, 900 signal lamps, and a great quantity of wire, among other things, were discovered. Also, the ministry and post and telegraph offices reported higher efficiency and eradication of errors. A day-to-day record of thrift and waste appears on wall and blackboard bulletins and special tabloids. The *hsuehhsi* groups are continuing to use criticism and self-criticism to prevent waste and eliminate errors.

After office work, we all earnestly pursue further knowledge. We have two Russian classes, two classes in politics, mathematics classes and a number of technical study groups. The communist workers from the old liberated areas, many of whom find their cultural level lower than old post and telegraph employees, study very hard to come up to their level. Our two libraries are always crowded to capacity.

But life is not all work. On the week-ends, to relax after a busy week, we have a party. Workers of both post and telegraph departments and the ministry, with their families, assemble in the large courtyard for a mass *yangko* dance. Some play chess or ping-pong. There are brass bands and acrobatic troupes.

These parties are the most carefree, simple and joyous that I have ever seen. Nobody wears fine clothes; slacks and sweaters are the usual "party dress." Socks or stockings are not required, and either leather or cloth shoes are acceptable. When the band strikes up, everybody merrily joins the dance.

— *DUNCAN C. LEE*

Returned Students' Protest

SIXTY-TWO returned Chinese graduates of American universities have called upon all peace-loving Americans to demand the withdrawal of US troops from Korea and Taiwan, and to strengthen the peace movement within America.

Opposition to American intervention in China's affairs was voiced in a letter addressed to the respective Student Associations of these 62 American educated Chinese now living in Changsha, capital of Hunan province.

The letter to America first calls attention to the fact that after years of struggle for freedom from foreign imperialism, internal feudalism, and the corrupt Kuomintang government, the Chinese people have established their own government. Led by the Communist Party, government at all levels is of a coalition form. Every Chinese interested in the well-being of the nation is free to give opinions and welcome to take an active part in national reconstruction.

Contrasting the benefits which have accrued to the Chinese people in the short time since the inauguration of the new government, the letter points out, "We really see the new life of China and the new democracy sponsored by Chairman Mao Tse-tung is not only a cure for the chronic ills of the country, but it will certainly serve as both tonic and vitamins towards her future growth and development."

Referring to American intervention in Taiwan, the letter emphasizes that Taiwan is a part of China, which has been attested to in both the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations. There is no reason for US interference in Chinese domestic affairs and the only explanation for sending US armed forces to Taiwan "is deliberate armed aggression by the American government against the Chinese people."

Dealing with Korea, these graduates of American universities condemn American actions in that part of the world. Despite all the excuses being given by the US government, they can find no better term for American activities in Korea other than armed aggression. Although the US has tried to conceal its intervention by claiming to act on behalf of the United Nations, the signers believe that "it is more than clear to us that the same government has violated Articles 2 and 27 of the UN Charter in dealing with the Korea issue."

They write, "Let us call to the attention of the American people that the American government is playing with fire in the Far East. If not stopped at its sparks, the American imperialists and their satellites will be burned in a big conflagration which might develop later. We also wish to tell the American government that 475,000,000 Chinese and 30,000,000 Koreans are furious about their aggressors. What has been demonstrated by the Korean people in their resistance against aggression will be made more impressive by Chinese sailors and soldiers in their liberation of Taiwan which is bound to come in the not too distant future."

The final paragraph of this letter to Americans calls upon all peace-loving people in the US to consider the critical conditions now prevailing in the Far East and requests them to take all measures to improve such conditions. They are urged to send petitions to their president calling for the withdrawal of American forces in Korea and Taiwan. Peace-loving Americans are also asked to enlarge and strengthen the peace movement already under way in the States.

The signers of this appeal to the American people come from a broad section of American universities. Of the 62, there are 10 from Yale, five each from Harvard and Michigan, the rest having studied at Chicago, Columbia, Illinois, Iowa, Oberlin, and 18 other universities in America. Twenty-six are recent graduates, between 1945 and 1950. One signer, T. S. Yeh, received his degree from Lehigh University in 1914. Those in their sixties are no less determined than are those in their twenties in voicing their opposition to America's intervention in China and the Far East.

— *SOPHIA CHANG*

Letter From Chungking

T. W. Lu

FOR the first time in its history this old war-time capital of Free China can look forward with confidence to the future.

Although long the most important commercial and industrial center of the great southwest, Chungking's prospects have always remained things of the *future*, while the *present* has always been a period of misery and distress for the vast majority of the population.

For as long as I can remember Chungking, as well as the other great cities of this rich province, has lived in uncertainty and fear, with prosperity or depression, peace or war depending upon the fortunes and whims of the various warlords who have tryannized the southwest during the past several decades.

The war with Japan did bring a period of progress and prosperity of sorts but it was short-lived and at best it affected only the ruling classes of compradores, traders and landlords. However, the old KMT Central Government had not been established in Chungking for long before the evils of corruption, bureaucratic capitalism, currency inflation and all-round government inefficiency destroyed the city's facade of "war prosperity" for all but the most highly placed officials and their collaborators and hangers-on.

Post-war Slump

The conclusion of the Japanese war made things even worse as it signalled the end to the war-time boom, such as it was. Hundreds of thousands of government employees and war-time "refugees" deserted the city. The bottom fell out of the real estate market and business failures ran into the hundreds, if not thousands. In addition, restoration of communications with the coastal areas and with foreign countries sounded the death knell for those industries which had managed to survive the crippling inflation. Chungking settled down into a deep depression which grew worse as the years passed.

By the time of the city's liberation, at the end of November 1949, the crisis was acute. The "normal" depression had been made worse by the KMT policy of destruction prior to its flight. When the PLA entered Chungking it found a virtually dead city. The largest arsenal, which was one of the city's main industries, had been blown up, the power plant was wrecked. Altogether, some 600 vital industrial installations were damaged in greater or lesser degree. The city's 1,200,000 people were really up against it.

A New City

Now, some 10 months later, Chungking seems like an entirely different city. There are still plenty of problems and difficulties, but the road to progress and prosperity has been laid out and a number of initial victories have already been won.

The biggest thing that has happened, of course, is that at long last actual construction work has commenced upon the Chungking-Chengtu Railway. In order to appreciate fully the signal importance of this work, it is necessary to understand the psychological as well as the economic effect which completion of this line will have in this part of the country.

Economically, the railway will prove a great boon as it will, in addition to linking the commercial and political centers of the province, constitute the first step in joining the great southwest with the rest of China. To travel from Chungking to Peking or Shanghai today is a major journey and is not to be lightly undertaken.

This railway has long been dreamed of by the Szechuenese. As far back as the last days of the Manchu dynasty plans for the line were drawn up. Since then, for well more than a quarter of a century, the idea has been periodically revived. On some occasions a little "preliminary" work was actually done. Once, a few railway stations were even built and stand to this day as monuments to the skill of the promoters who so successfully swindled the people.

No one knows just how much money the various promoters—from the Manchus down to the KMT—managed to amass via this perpetual swindle but it was certainly enough to build the line over several times.

Today, thousands of PLA soldiers and laborers are at work, constructing the roadbed, building bridge approaches, etc. Already several kilometers of rails have been laid, while the 10 locomotives initially allotted to this line have already arrived at Hankow and are reported being loaded aboard steamers.

By the end of this year trains are scheduled to be running from Chungking to Chuyangchi, while the whole line is expected to be in operation by the end of next year.

The beginning of serious work on the line has had an electric effect upon Chungking's economy. Metal-working factories, from the smallest shop to the largest plant, are working day and night shifts in order to turn out rails, fishplates and other equipment for the line. Thousands of the city's permanent unemployed have found work, either directly or indirectly connected with the construction.

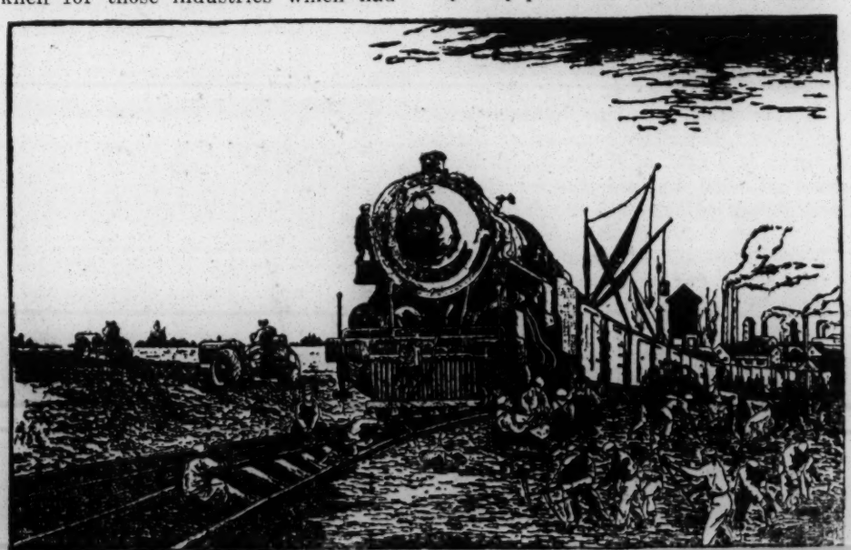
The monthly output of coal, rubber and leather goods, electric bulbs and related equipment and numerous other manufactured or semi-manufactured goods has generally surpassed pre-liberation levels by substantial margins. The monthly production of forged steel, for instance, is now more than eight times higher than before liberation.

Anti-Bandit Campaign

Also of great importance has been the campaign, now almost fully completed, against the bandits who infested the province immediately following liberation. Connected with the Chiang regime in greater or lesser degree and supported by many of the old landlords, these bandit gangs consisted of disorganized remnants of KMT soldiery who initially evaded capture or annihilation by the PLA, as well as ruffian groups who had traditionally served the old feudal barons.

For some months, these groups presented a problem as they roamed the countryside waylaying passengers and robbing them or even daring to attack small parties of government officials. However, by a combination of military and political measures, the bandit menace has nearly been eliminated. Today, they are rapidly ceasing to be a problem.

For several months now the economy has been stabilized and prices have remained relatively level, with only minor fluctuations. There are many reasons for this, but as the situation is more or less the same throughout the entire country it is unnecessary to elaborate upon this



Lo Chen-yuan

point. Suffice to say, for the first time hoarding and speculation have virtually ceased while the day's prices have long since lost out as a subject for conversation.

One of the biggest campaigns, preparations for which are now underway, is the large-scale rent reduction drive which will follow the coming autumn harvest. This campaign, which will directly effect an estimated 50,000,000 poor peasants and tenants who make up more than 85 percent of the population in the southwest, will be in preparation for agrarian reform, scheduled to be carried out next year.

The urgent need for attacking the economic base of rural feudalism was clearly brought home by the results of surveys conducted in a number of representative villages. These investigations revealed that on the average landlords constitute no more than six percent of the rural population but own more than 60 percent of the arable land.

On the other hand, only 25 percent of the land is owned by the middle and poor peasants who together make up some 88 percent of the total population. In some areas the gulf between landlords and tenants is even greater. In the suburbs of Chungking, for example, landlords own approximately 96 percent of the available farmland.

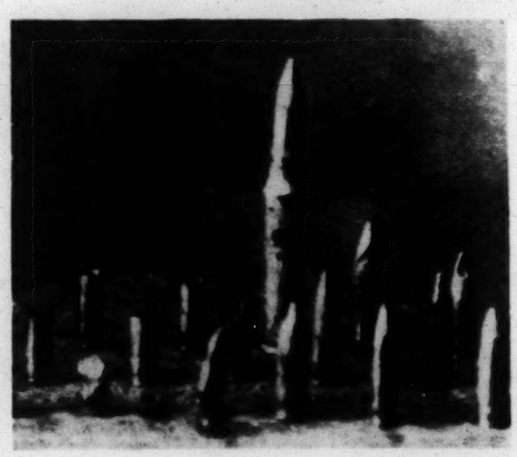
In addition to the concentrated ownership of land, the exploitation of the small peasants and tenants has been extreme.

On the average, tenants have to pay the landlords up to 80 percent of their crops. But this is not the end of the small farmer's exploitation. Through the years it has become "customary" for tenants to contribute "voluntary" labor on the landlords' own land during peak seasons, such as at sowing or harvest time. In addition, landlords required their tenants to present them with "gifts" upon such special occasions as local festivals, the birth or death or wedding of near relatives, etc.

The rent reduction campaign is the first major step toward breaking the feudal hold of the landlord class. This will prepare the ground for next year's agrarian reform (redistribution of the land) which will deal a death blow to the old feudal social and economic order in the countryside.

Lying at the junction of the Yangtze and Chialing rivers in the heart of the richest and most populous province of the southwest, Chungking can now look forward to a period of prosperity and progress, during which the area's potential resources will be developed by the people for their own benefit. For the first time a better life is within sight.

US Planes Raid China's Northeast



Spent machinegun bullets recovered after the US air attack.

IN the morning of August 27, American planes invaded China's air, across the right bank of the Yalu River, which forms the border between China and Korea. Several passes were made during the day, and locomotives and other railroad property were damaged. Three workers were killed and more than 20 persons were wounded.

On August 29, several more planes carried out raids on Chinese territory across the Yalu River. A group of four US fighter planes killed four persons and wounded seven.

Foreign Minister Chou En-lai vigorously protested these "provocative and atrocious acts" of the US armed forces, to both the United Nations and the US government.

The driver of one of the damaged locomotives, Hsu Kuo-chen, whose picture appears below, said "an American airplane has smashed my left hand, but I still have my right hand to avenge our country and redouble my work."

Hsu Kuo-chen lost his left hand in one raid. Left, white circles show bullet holes in locomotive No. 268.

Foreigners' View of the Year

The statements on this and the following page by foreigners resident in different cities were written in response to a *Review* request. As this issue coincides with the first anniversary of the establishment of the new Central People's Government, we felt that such a survey of foreign opinion would be of special interest to readers. All of these people have lived in China for a number of years. Some have seen quite a few governments come and go. Thus, their opinions may be considered as those of seasoned foreign observers who weigh their words with some care. — Editor

NANKING

AFTER the People's Liberation Army took Nanking on April 24, 1949, the city got off to a new start on a higher level than at any other transfer of power. The Communist soldiers were so good at restoring order and treated the whole population so well that people did not realize what they had missed. Chinese say it was the best turnover in a thousand years!

Good treatment was also extended to the many Westerners residing in the city. There were a few misunderstandings at first but they have faded into proper perspective now. In recent months there has been apparent a genuine solicitude to see that all foreigners living in the city receive fair treatment. Passes to visit Shanghai and exit permits to leave the country have been generously and courteously granted.

The chief characteristic of post-liberation Nanking is that it is now a "has-been" national capital. Before November, 1948, a large part of the population were either employed or supported by work with the Nationalist government. That was the only "big industry" in Nanking. When the new government was established in Peking, there was a lot of suffering from unemployment among clerical and "service" groups.

A rickshaman who in 1937 would have gotten one shen* of rice for a run of one kilometer, now gets only one-fourth of a shen of rice. And he has fewer runs in a day. Wage scales set by the new government are low: unskilled labor gets 7 tou of rice per month with no food given. Skilled workers get from 16 to 30 tou. A primary school teacher gets 20 tou and a college professor around 50 tou. That gives the college professor the equivalent of US$25.00 per month.

The new government has done a remarkable job in controlling prices during this year. Between March and September 4th, the cost of living index in Nanking fell from 22,757 times 1937 costs to 15,808 times. That is a drop of 30 percent. Control of last year's grain crop has been used for the benefit of the city's population and speculation in the "staff of life" has been eliminated. Reports of the effect of this in rural districts are contradictory.

Public services have been maintained at a high level. Two government and one mission hospital have operated every day since liberation. Two government and one cooperative bus line give fast, courteous service. Many horse carriages do a thriving jitney business and northern culture is well represented by horse carts, including those with two horses or mules in tandem. Electrical, water, telephone, mail, telegraph and railroad services are as good or better than before liberation.

Religious liberty has been the order of the day in Nanking. Political indoctrination has been carried into all schools, public and private, with great vigor. But the churches have not been interfered with. There have been some internal difficulties in some mission institutions but these were often the work of opportunists. University Hospital (Drum Tower) has survived its difficulties and now has an excellent Christian Chinese doctor as superintendent and is rendering very good service.

With registration in process it is evident that mission schools will have a larger enrollment this fall. Religion is not allowed to be taught in primary and middle schools but students may attend religious activities at nearby churches. At the college and university level there is no restriction on religious activities.

Academic freedom is a harder matter to define. A new curriculum has been introduced which increases greatly the amount of time allotted to political indoctrination. It is also requested that all courses be presented from the Marxist point of view. But it is permissible to present other theories so long as they are criticized from the Marxian standpoint. There is a good attempt to improve methods of teaching by increasing discussion and practice. But the large amount of time taken for political indoctrination and political activities last year meant that student learning fell considerably. Students are given the option of studying Russian or English. The administrative integrity of the mission schools remains intact.

Relief presents a mixed picture. The new order came in with the slogan of the Apostle Paul, "If any will not work, neither let him eat." Wages are to support an individual rather than a family. At first all relief was taboo. But with continued unemployment, public employment offices were opened and applicants given work at digging muck out of the city's drainage canals or on the river dikes. Now paving is being repaired and the side lanes of Chung Shan Road paved, partly as work relief. Regular social service work, public and private, was allowed to continue so long as it did not include "relief." The Catholic orphanage, Sacred Heart, has been allowed to continue despite recent criticisms.

There is a new democratic spirit in the air. Cleaning out of racketeers amongst red caps and other working groups by organizing them from the bottom up has given the laboring man a new sense of dignity. Labor unions have been formed among nearly all groups, including college professors. Representation of workers and servants on the administrative committees of various institutions gives them a better sense of participation in the program.

The denial of government subsidies to students has increased the dignity of labor among them. This summer 127 students and 21 professors from the College of Agriculture and Forestry at the University of Nanking went to north and south Anhwei and to Shantung to do rural service work. This was all on a volunteer basis. Four Chinese Christian leaders have participated in the Mayor's Relief Committee and are now in the City Council. This shows that there is a desire to include representatives of all groups, excepting "reactionaries."

—Lewis S. C. Smythe,
Professor of Sociology
University of Nanking.

* * *

THE CHURCH IN PEKING

I CAN only speak of the church as I've seen it in Peking and particularly of its ministry to youth which is where I share in its work. Of the misunderstandings and problems in the interior and in rural areas I can not write. In the city, local church work has gone on with vigor. A new

* A *shen* is equal to about one dry quart or 1.6 pounds. A *tou* is ten shen or one peck dry measure or 16.5 pounds.

spiritual awakening and sense of need is seen throughout the church. Self-criticism and confession have been aids to discovering the foundations of faith.

There are fewer young people than in other years but they have more real understanding of the meaning of their faith and a deeper desire to practice it in their daily living than ever before. Outside pressures and conflicting ideologies have only helped to strengthen the awareness of spiritual realities.

Christian youth work in Peking is firmly in the hands of capable Chinese leaders as it should be. There are five new full time Chinese Christian youth workers—all highly trained university and seminary graduates—working in the Peking churches this fall. Other new young people are working full time in the churches with children or in other phases of the Christian program.

There is a steady forward movement toward making the Chinese church independent and self-supporting. Laymen and ministers are both determined that this dream which they've held for years shall come true in the near future.

The church as I see it in Peking one year after the establishment of the People's Republic of China: local churches busy with regular activities and special conferences, a deepening of the spiritual life of members, self-criticism and re-evaluation of work and policies, new youth leaders, new emphasis on self-support and independence. Christians are seeking to find their place and make their contribution to the building of the new democratic China.

—Amber Van,
Advisor to Youth Work
Methodist Church, Peking.

* * *

TSING HUA UNIVERSITY

SINCE the liberation the administration, the faculty, their wives, the students, and the workmen of Tsing Hua University have all been galvanized into new activity. There is a much greater consciousness than before that education must get nearer to the people and not serve only an elite. This goal has practically unanimous support. Mass organizations and outlets for patriotism which were previously suppressed are now encouraged, and everybody is made to feel that he is needed in the reconstruction.

The Chinese are a stubborn people who had been stung into active rebellion by the Kuomintang whip. The present leaders, knowing this, have renounced coercive action to a degree which I fear most foreigners will not believe possible. In such an atmosphere people tend to impose discipline on themselves, seeing that this is the only way that the masses can be released from their traditional regimentation. They do not fear hardships provided they have fair play. They have confidence in the future, they cannot be intimidated by threats, nor will they shrink before any American display of force.

Ironically enough, American policy is hastening the very reforms which it was apparently designed to prevent. The means of accomplishing these reforms are discussed in countless meetings in which the humblest person is encouraged to express his point of view. The fact that the government invites criticism and is quick to correct errors has released tremendous forces both inside the university and outside.

There have been no hasty or radical changes in the curriculum. In the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature slightly more emphasis is being put on language for the present. The excuse for this is the generally admitted shortage of reliable and capable personnel and the fact that this must be chiefly a period of practical work. Emphasis on cultural reconstruction must be postponed for the time being. English remains the chief foreign language. Russian is becoming the second, and French will probably be the third. There are at present no Russians on the staff.

Some people will say: "This enthusiasm will not last. Human nature will assert itself. The more things change, the more they remain the same. Twenty-one months are too short a time to prove anything." The best answer to this is my experience with the People's Liberation Army who have been fighting all these years. I have seen a good deal of these men, I have swum with them all summer in the lake in the Summer Palace and have talked openly and freely with them for long hours. I have also the evidence of many acquaintances who have had similar contacts. We all agree that we found ourselves in a new world of courteous, reliable, determined and mature people such as we had never seen anywhere else in the world. After all, the supreme test of a system is the quality of the people which it produces.

—Robert Winter,
Prof. of English Literature
Tsing Hua University.

* * *

YENCHING UNIVERSITY

THE prospect for good academic work is now very promising. The student body has settled down to new conditions, loyal support for the people's government being taken for granted. Owing to the clemency of the government in dealing with students and others who had a record of Kuomintang associations, the passions aroused between right and left groups in days immediately before the liberation have vanished from the picture.

National economic stability and improved communications mean that students' financial affairs are no longer a source of such constant anxiety to them. The year 1949-50 was one of feverish studies and of necessary social and political reorientation, but the wise emphasis recently placed on health and on economy of effort has led both university and students to plan for a more healthy and efficient use of time and energy in 1950-51.

The care which students show for each other is very impressive. During the past year the amount of help given by the more brilliant students to the slower ones was of real effectiveness and value. Honest mutual criticism given and received in good spirit was also evidence of the sense of responsibility which they felt for each other.

New students arriving this month have been made to feel at home more effectively than ever before. Old students have welcomed them, taken charge of their luggage and transport from the station, shown them all the ropes, introduced them to the faculty, and given tips on methods of study, in a cordial and practical way.

Relationships between faculty and students are very friendly. Yenching always had an excellent reputation for this, but recently we have had an increase in mutual frankness and constructive criticism which is leading to improvement in teaching efficiency.

It is now taken for granted that students, staff, and workmen, share with the faculty the responsibility for administration. Naturally the main burden still falls on the senior faculty, but everyone has a chance to make criticisms and proposals which will be considered. Economic equality is much greater than before—for instance the ratio between the salary of a top professor and unskilled workman is about 5 to 1 (compared with over 30 to 1 fifteen years ago).

Christian activities in the university have continued normally, and the Christian Fellowship is strong and active. Relations between the Fellowship and the Youth Corps are fairly good.

Western faculty members meet uniform friendliness from everyone around, and take part in all the activities of the university.

—E. R. Lapwood
Prof. of Mathematics
Yenching University

One Year of Progress in Tientsin

The first year following the inauguration of the new people's government has been a period of steady development for north China's chief port.

DURING Tientsin's first year of liberation, great progress has been made on all fronts. The economy is in much better shape, and improving constantly. Old buildings are being renovated or torn down. Streets are being widened and leveled. A great number of night schools for workers have been opened, and crowds besiege the bookstores for new books. All activities that make for the production and distribution of essentials have expanded, while non-essential luxuries have begun to disappear.

Price stabilization has been the greatest single benefit to the people. People now have more constructive things to discuss than the wild inflation of pre-liberation days. Coal prices have recently come down, and the city faces the winter with full storage yards.

Inflationary pressures threatened price stability only twice during the past year. In both cases, old-style merchants attempted large-scale speculation, but price fluctuations were nipped in the bud by government dumping.

Last autumn, merchants tried to speculate in grain, but the government shipped large quantities of grain to the city from the Northeast. Since the Korean war, some importers have tried to hoard imported drugs and raw materials. Again the government stepped in and dumped penicillin, rubber and sugar on the market. Prices remained stable.

The government now has ample foreign exchange and public funds at its disposal. Also, deposits in private banks have increased greatly, reaching a new high at the end of July of JMP145,700,000,000, a jump of JMP22,600,000,000 over mid-July.

As the cost of living has leveled off in China, while prices abroad have risen in a new inflationary spiral, foreign exchange rates were reduced three times in one month this summer. They were lowered again early in September. The US dollar rate is now approximately 25 percent lower than its high point last spring.

Business Active

The city buzzes with business. Government-private business relationships have undergone a continuous process of adjustment, to the advantage of private business, notably the import trade. Local merchants and those from Shanghai and other outports have been active, and with a reasonable margin of profit assured, they are not complaining.

Private firms in the city handled twice the volume of goods in July as compared with June. Government orders to private firms increased by almost half, and are sufficient to keep 80 percent of Tientsin's factory machinery running.

BETTY CHANG, a frequent contributor to the Review, is an American living in Tientsin. As a resident of this northern port city for a number of years, she has watched its rise and fall, its prosperity and depression, under a succession of different regimes—the old concession days of the foreigners, the Japanese occupation period, the KMT's short-lived carpet-bagging rule and, finally, the administration of the people's government. Like many other foreign residents in this country, she believes that at long last China is on the road to progress and prosperity. In this article she gives many concrete examples of the achievements which have been accomplished in Tientsin during the past year.—Editor.

Government contracts included one with 15 rubber factories for 200,000 pairs of military rubber shoes, and one with 11 textile mills for JMP600,000,000 worth of canvas. More than 90 textile mills are working on government cloth orders, and the army has contracted with 27 weaving and dyeing factories for 36,475 bolts of cotton drill, for exchange against yarn. Government orders are keeping 70 cooperative oil presses working, and four local flour mills are grinding nearly 300,000 bags of flour for the state.

Domestic Trade Flourishes

Consumers in north China villages bought JMP232,000,000 of goods distributed by the state China Sundry Goods Company during the first six months of 1950. The main items were sugar, cigarettes, soda, matches, glass, cement, dyes, bicycle tires and tubes, rubber shoes, and cloth. Local woollen weaving mills are weaving domestic wool to fill government and PLA orders.

Thus, domestic trade is flourishing, with the products of local factories finding expanding outlets in rural areas. And the peasants are enjoying a higher standard of living.

Tientsin now has its first public press-packing plant to help meet the increased demand for press-packing that has come with larger exports of hair, fur, hides, wool and cotton waste. While two British plants have a capacity of 10,000 bales a day, there was formerly only one Chinese plant, with a 70-bale capacity. The new public plant at present can pack 200 bales a day, and this is to be increased.

Since liberation, Tientsin has had a favorable balance of trade, and imports have changed in character. In 1936, about 10 percent of the total value of imports was in chemicals and dyes, while nearly 14 percent was for food. In 1949, the respective figures were nearly 21 percent and 2.3 percent.

Much work has been done to meet the unemployment problem and to expand facilities for workers' education. In August, the Tientsin Labor Employment Bureau was set up to handle applications for jobs and for labor. During the first week, the bureau placed 2,789 workers. Useful jobs are being done through work-relief; several hundred unemployed workers are building roads in the city suburbs.

The No. 55 Workers' Night School reports that 400 former students have signed up for classes, and another 100 are to be admitted. Since the number of applicants has increased, those who wish to study will be screened by entrance examinations. And No. 55 is only one of Tientsin's 180 workers' night schools.

The government has increased teachers' salaries 30-50 percent, and allowances to the schools for operational expenses have also been made larger.

Workers' education has developed to the point where teachers with special technical knowledge are required. Worker-students, representing more than 50 different trades, pose such a variety of technical questions that the regular primary or high school teacher is not prepared to answer them.

The Kailan Mining Administration has also started schools for its workers. The head office is now at the mines, and the premises of the former head office in Tientsin will house the China Mining Institute, which trains mining engineers. The institute, under the Ministry of Fuel, has 600 students in four departments: machinery, mining, electrical engineering, and civil engineering.

With the expansion of education into the ranks of labor, and the heightened political and social consciousness among the general public, books and the new learning have become extremely popular. On any Sunday morning, one sees long lines of people from all walks of life waiting at the doors of government bookstores.

Large-scale Rebuilding

Building construction and repair has been very much in evidence during the past year; one tenant remarked that "even the houses have straightened their backs since liberation." There is scarcely a lane where workmen are not either razing condemned buildings or repairing others. Street after street is being leveled and straightened.

Following government inspection of dangerous structures last winter, 670 buildings have been rebuilt, with more in process. About 90 percent of all public buildings (badly neglected, since most of them were built by the Japanese) have been repaired. For this work, a value equivalent to

15,000,000 catties (7,500 tons) of millet was expended.

Where last year stood a gutted Japanese semi-Gothic monstrosity of a school, children are now studying in a new bungalow-style primary school. Many new schools have been established in remodeled puppet and traitor houses or in larger enemy buildings.

New government construction of dormitory buildings containing 110 rooms is nearly complete. The site is 10,000 square meters in area, and part of it will house cooperatives, medical consultation rooms, a police station, and shops.

On September 1, the Tientsin Real Estate Exchange was set up to handle the buying and selling of houses and land. Public institutions acquiring real estate are required to safeguard their purchases by buying through the exchange. Private buyers and sellers may avail themselves of this service if they wish. The exchange verifies the former owner's property rights and issues a new official title deed. Fees are limited to actual handling costs, thus eliminating brokers' cuts.

Many other changes have occurred in the city. One of the most obvious is improved traffic control. The weapon here is the megaphone; with loud and public cautioning, the people are becoming increasingly traffic conscious, and accidents are decreasing.

Better Communications

Rail and ship communications with other parts of the country resumed shortly after liberation. With the inauguration of the Civil Aviation Service in August, air passenger, mail and cargo facilities were added, linking Tientsin to many large cities.

Long-distance phone communication lines have been added from time to time during the year, and recently the direct line to Shanghai, disrupted for more than five years, was restored, with express service.

Improvements in the water supply, including the installation of additional pipelines, has benefited the general public greatly. During the first half of 1950, the supply of piped running water increased by 6.6 percent.

The people of Tientsin, under the leadership of the people's government, have shown what they can do in the short space of a year to accomplish significant results in peaceful reconstruction. They have worked hard and are proud of the results. They anxiously hope for continued peace, which will allow them to make the city more productive and beautiful in the future.

Today, among Sunday crowds at public parks, or off on picnics, group discussions are constantly heard, as in former years. But now the time-worn old subjects of group and family debate—high prices, stock market quotations, domestic servant problems—are replaced by current events, political issues, and the constructive progress that has been accomplished.

— BETTY C. CHANG

BOOKS OF INTEREST

RHYMES OF LI YU-TSAI AND OTHER STORIES *by Chao Shu-li, published by the Cultural Press, P. O. Box 6, Peking. Reviewed by S. C.*

IN addition to four stories in this collection, there is a very important introductory article by Chou Yang, one of China's best known literary critics and now Vice-Minister of Cultural Affairs.

Chou Yang points up the qualities that have brought Chao Shu-li to the top among the writers of the new literature. In his analysis of two of the stories that appear in this book, he writes of Chao:

Chao Shu-li

"He is an author who matured before he became famous, an original artist who has created a style of his own, and a writer who belongs to the people.

"His first story 'Hsiao Erh-hei's Marriage' published in 1943 gained an instantaneous recognition from the broad masses, and in the single district of Tai Hang it sold 30,000 to 40,000 copies. His readers dramatized the story themselves and put it on the stage.

"Soon afterward, 'Rhymes of Li Yu-tsai' was published. This book described truthfully and vividly the peasants' struggle for better environment, and it was a masterpiece."

* * *

"RHYMES of Li Yu-tsai" is a most illuminating and enjoyable story. Its plot is far from simple, and there are all shades of characters: the misguided government cadre, the progressive cadre, the peasant who has been bought off by the landlord, the peasant who has always been oppressed but looks down on "poor people," and the oppressed peasants who organize and fight.

Through Li's rhymes, which reflect the opinions of the peasants, we get a real picture of conditions and people in the village of Yen Chia Shan. The rhymes, though telling a bitter story, are humorous and have been well-translated into English.

This story can tell those of us who are unfamiliar with conditions in the Chinese countryside or the problems of agrarian reform far more than dozens of articles. For Chao has written his stories from the peasants' point of view, speaking their language and relating vividly their struggles.

* * *

THE plot of "Hsiao Erh-hei's Marriage" is more simple. It is a village love story with the two lovers having to overcome the opposition of their parents who are steeped in the village superstitions. However, the local racketeers are the main troublemakers. This too is an excellent descriptive story which leaves no doubt in the reader's mind of the changes that have come with the new times.

Two short stories are also included: "The Heirloom" and "Old Customs." The former will not arouse as much sympathy or understanding from the foreign reader for it depicts a goody-goody girl cadre having to overcome the prejudices of an old-style mother-in-law. In was the reviewer's impression the mother-in-law received harsher treatment than she really deserved.

"Old Customs" should be read in the light of the new marriage law that was recently promulgated by the Central People's Government. Though most of us have some familiarity with the difficulties women faced in the old society, a story such as this one can make it very vivid.

If one is to understand new China, the new people's literature offers an excellent medium. These well-translated stories by one of China's foremost authors should greatly help in promoting a better understanding among English readers of what the people's revolution means to the peasants of this country.

THE PEOPLE'S NEW LITERATURE, *Four Reports at the All-China Conference of Writers and Artists, published by the Cultural Press, P. O. Box 6, Peking. Price US$.30.*

IN July, 1949, just before the inauguration of the Central People's Government, the First All-China Conference of Writers and Artists was convened in Peking. This two-weeks' conference was attended by 753 delegates. It was the first time that outstanding writers and artists of the whole country had met together.

The four reports compiled in this book were given by the present Premier Chou En-lai, Deputy Premier Kuo Mo-jo, Minister of Cultural Affairs Mao Tun and Vice-Minister of Cultural Affairs Chou Yang.

Chou En-lai revealed the then existing political and military situation, and at the same time dealt with the tasks that were facing China's artists and writers.

Kuo Mo-jo, well-known writer and historian, made a report on "The Struggle for the Creation of New China's Literature."

Of particular interest were the reports by Mao Tun, an outstanding novelist who dealt with the literary and art movement in Kuomintang-controlled areas, and by Chou Yang on the advances made in the cultural field in the old liberated areas, for they offer an excellent comparison of the approach and contributions made by artists and writers under such diverse conditions.

Emi Siao, one of China's leading poets, writes in his foreword to these

reports: "The following four reports, we hope, may be of some help to our friends—the progressive, democratic and peace-loving peoples of all countries in the world, who wish to understand the purpose and significance of this conference."

For friends of China and students of Chinese drama, literature and art, these reports give a valuable insight to the present renaissance in Chinese culture and show the direction that the old theater and art forms are taking.

THE LEFT WING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, ***by Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, published under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations by William Sloane Associates, New York, 1950, price, $4.00 Reviewed by L. S.***

THE difficulty of trying to write an "objective" analysis that will still be accepted in American circles shows through on every page of this book. These two authors have tackled a ticklish subject for their American readers: Marxist influence in Indo-China, Thailand, Burma, Malaya and Indonesia.

In their preface, they point out that they were hampered in their collection of materials during a six month trip in southeast Asia in 1947 by only being able to interview a few of the Communist leaders, most of whom they found not too informative. The result has been they have had to rely primarily on official government sources; for instance, the French Sûreté for much of the material on Vietnam; a Dutch official for Indonesia; and a former police officer of the Straits Settlements for left-wing activities in Malaya.

It would appear that a comparable study in China would call for analyzing activities of the Communist Party here from Taiwan releases.

Nonetheless, they have presented a great deal of data, giving dates of meetings and important events and the names of leaders who participated. But the analysis of these events leaves much to be desired.

Though they have portrayed the imperialist roles of the French, British and Dutch, only one mention is made of America's actions. This was made in their conclusion in the following way: "For world consumption, Soviet propagandists have pictured southeast Asia as an area seething with revolt against its imperialist oppressors—not so much the Dutch and French colonialists as the Anglo-American capitalists who are said to be backing them. . ."

Thus, it is only Soviet propaganda that the Americans have been gradually getting more and more of an economic foothold in these countries and are now sending military missions and arms.

In surveying the left-wing movements, the authors constantly search to see if there have been orders from the Cominform, or directions from the Kremlin. But since they can't be found the authors still manage to leave us with the suggestion that there may be such orders, "though southeast Asia has not yet been assigned a very high priority on the USSR's agenda of world revolution."

If the authors had stuck to listing names, dates and events, this could be something of a good quick-reference book on present-day leaders. But when they get into the whys and whereforces of the various movements that are now making history in these countries, they contradict themselves in their explanations.

Further, they have not touched on the conditions which are daily making it possible for the progressive movements to have new victories; and they have completely skirted any mention of America's past, present and future role, which has now intensified the conflicts in southeast Asia.

EMPIRE'S END IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, ***by Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, published by Foreign Policy Association in cooperation with the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Headline Series No. 78, Nov.-Dec., 1949, price $0.35***

THIS pamphlet is for those who are unfamiliar with the countries of southeast Asia. Some good maps and pen drawings of the area's leaders are included.

The faulty analysis shown in the authors' book on the left-wing movement is even more apparent in this survey. For example, their conclusion on the great struggle being waged by the Vietnam Republic is: "As yet there is no clear answer to the enigma: Does the Republic aim to be a democracy of the Western persuasion? Or will it try to appear so only until such time as it can safely gravitate into the Soviet orbit? Or will external pressures or internal disunity dictate the outcome?"

Though they are aware that land reform has been carried out in all liberated areas, that mass literacy programs have nearly wiped out illiteracy, that the people's government has a mass support, they still wonder if this will become "western democracy." They do not seem to realize that "western democracy" will only mean continued colonial rule for these people, who have clearly demonstrated they want none of it.

Again they have managed to skirt completely US policy, but fortunately this has been included in a short essay at the end written by Blair Bolles, director of the Foreign Policy Association's Washington bureau.

Mr. Bolles states plainly that the Truman administration's only concern in southeast Asia is to "frustrate advocates of communism," and if all of America's varying policies in regard to these countries are viewed in this light, they will be seen to be consistent.

He further says that the United States has tried to devise policies "that would stop the Communists, without, however, involving itself extensively in affairs of that area."

That America is now involved very "extensively" he could not foresee last year, for he views southeast Asia as a strategic place on the map which must not "go communist," rather than an area of millions of people who are demanding the end to their exploitation.

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Letter from Shanghai

OF "TIME" AND THE TRUTH: In his folksy-type weekly letter of August 21, *Time* publisher James A. Linen casually tucked a near scoop away in one small paragraph. The only thing wrong with it was that it wasn't true.

Mr. Linen informed his readers: "As this issue goes to press, *Time-Life International* has learned that *Time* is again circulating (clandestinely) inside Communist China—which should be news for *Time* readers there who wrote us after China fell, asking if there wasn't some way that they could again get their weekly copy of *Time*."

The key to Mr. Linen's fantasy is the word "clandestinely." Why he chose to set it off in parentheses is a bigger mystery than how he succeeded in digging up this startling if untrue news. The use of the word "clandestinely" implies that the magazine has been banned and that people secretly pass it around only after turning out the lights or drawing the curtains. It also conveniently perpetuates a myth among its readers which *Time* is so interested in keeping alive.

Actually, following the liberation of Shanghai in May 1949, *Time* sent a letter to its readers here stating the magazine would not be sent to China. There has never been any ban on publications mailed to China from abroad, and *Time* apparently has been aware of this for copies have been coming for months via mail. In fact, the copy containing this deliberate misinformation was given to this writer by a friend who had just received it. It might be added, it was handed over in broad daylight and with roughly half a dozen people around.

Although he makes much about the circulating of *Time* in China, Mr. Linen is a bit behind the times. Most of the Chinese and foreigners who might be interested have departed with the folding up of the Kuomintang. As for those who still look at it, some even find it sort of a comic relief considering that Mr. Linen's error is only on a small scale when compared with *Time's* general China coverage from Hongkong and New York. That the overwhelming majority of the 475,000,000 Chinese have neither the time nor inclination to read it, and don't read English might also be mentioned.

* * *

THE economic stability achieved by the people's government in the past year has seen some changes in Shanghai which have caused many an oldtimer in this supposedly "corrupt" metropolis to scratch his head in wonder.

Under the Chiang regime's rampant inflation, gold bars, and American and Hongkong dollars were the anchors for China's fast deteriorating economy. In one form or another, nearly everyone dealt in US dollars. Prices were based on the American dollar, and many were the salaried employees who rushed to the officially winked-at blackmarket every pay day to convert their wages into US currency. However, for the little man, the inflation was too much and his purchasing power and savings eventually were overwhelmed by the chaotic currency.

For more than the past six months, the government's currency has been on an even keel, a veritable revolution in China's economy in itself. The roaring blackmarket of KMT days is gone. What is even more astonishing is that for the first time in a dozen years the people are no longer trying to buy up gold and foreign currency. Just the reverse is taking place. The depreciation in the US dollar in America during the last few months has seen an increase in the turning in of American dollars in exchange for national currency. Today, US checks are being deposited in local currency more and more while gold and foreign currencies are not eagerly sought after.

For those who have never seen Shanghai at the height of its inflation it is difficult to imagine what the present stability means to the common man. For him it is the end of an era; the nightmare of inflation has been wiped out.

* * *

NOTES AND INCIDENTALS: The billboards in Shanghai attest to China's being returned to the Chinese. In the old days much of the advertising not only was in English but also included photos and drawings of Hollywood movie stars, or their replicas, selling stockings, toothpaste, cigarettes, etc. Today, in place of this reflection of foreign domination in China, signboards are in Chinese. They feature factory workers smoking the cigarettes advertised, or perhaps a pretty Chinese girl will be portrayed dancing the popular "drum dance" waving the silk which is the subject of the advertisement.

* * *

IMPROVEMENT in newsreels and documentary films has been constant. Under the KMT, documentaries were seldom made and the few newsreels generally had nothing more to show than a high KMT official meeting some prominent American general visiting the capital. Newsreels are now both lively and interesting with special emphasis on what is going on in the countryside, where more than 80 percent of the people live. Coverage of flood control projects, restoration of KMT-wrecked railroad bridges, and medical work on farm animals are but a few of the host of subjects which are now being recorded on film as China builds a new nation.

Among the top flight documentaries released in the past year was a history of the PLA's liberation of the different parts of China, starting from the Northeast and ending in the southwest. Two other first rate documentaries covered the Peking Asiatic Women's Conference and a moving account of the reformation of prostitutes.

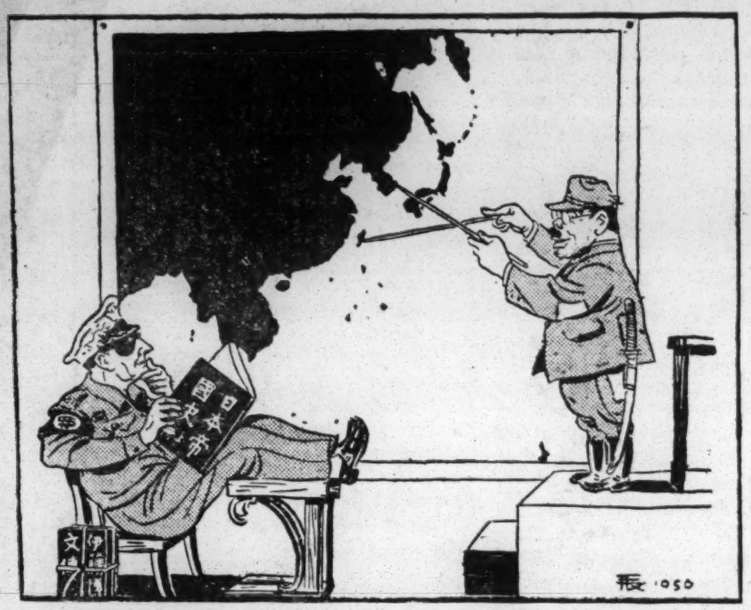
* * *

SHANGHAI'S model workers were highlighted here during September. All over the city one could see gaily decorated and flower-strewn trucks which carried the model workers' 673 delegates to their conference. This was a far cry from the days when KMT gendarmes, troops and secret agents raced through the streets breaking strikes or roughing-up workers' demonstrations.

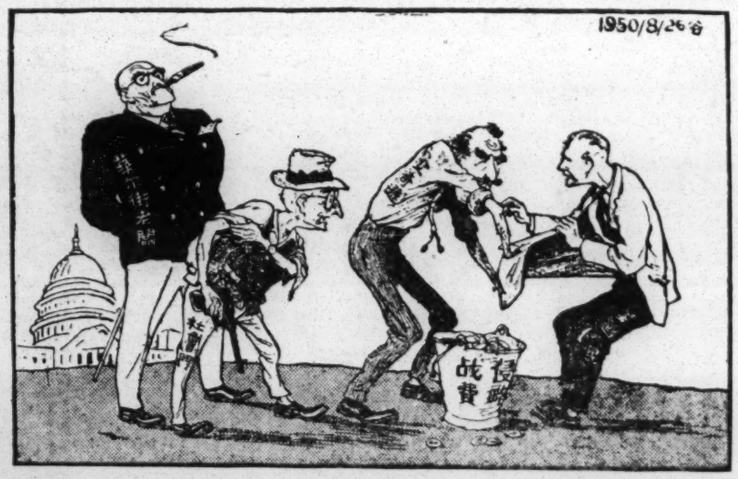
Even to the casual observer the spirit of construction is apparent. Where formerly streets were unpaved or run down through neglect repairs are now being made. Trolley tracks, half buried in dirt and refuse through non-use during the past decade, are being renovated as plans are under way for increasing the number of lines. A daily sight is the buses using one of the city's labor heroes' inventions, a small two-wheeled trailer with a coal burning engine attached to the bus. In place of scarce and expensive gasoline, this invention enables the use of China's abundant and cheap supply of coal. This is only one of the many examples of the creative ability of the formerly looked down upon Chinese worker.

— *J. S.*

CARTOONS
OF THE MONTH



MacArthur's friend, the Japanese militarist, relates his past experience in Asia and the necessity of holding Korea and Taiwan.



"Washington's Bandits", Acheson, Truman, and Wall Street, grab the American people's wealth for a war of aggression.

Acheson and MacArthur collect bits and pieces from the East and West for their Korean adventure.

China's new marriage law breaks the chains of a feudal system which subjugated and oppressed the nation's women.

Four scenes pertaining to agrarian reform. 1)Feudal exploitation by the landlord gave him all and the landless peasant nothing. 2)Peasant demands his share and an end to feudalism. 3)Feudalism has been shattered and the ex-landlord, worrying about his future, is offered the opportunity of working his portion of the land. 4)The completion of land reform means that both the former landless peasant and the ex-landlord have their own land to till.

Supplement to China Monthly Review, October 1950

CHINA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR

During the past year—the first year of the new Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China—this country's relations with the rest of the world have been put on an entirely new footing. For the first time in well more than a century, China has a strong, centralized government which is able to treat with the foreign powers on a full equal basis. This month's supplement contains the major foreign policy statements of the new government during its first year. These documents have been arranged according to subject for the convenience of readers, rather than in chronological order. Translations are by Hsinhua News Agency.

I—General

Basic Foreign Policy of China

THE Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference set forth the nature and organization of the People's Republic of China. It was approved by the first plenary session of the People's Consultative Conference in Peking on September 29, 1949. Those articles concerning China's foreign policy follow:

Article 11: The People's Republic of China unites with all peace and freedom loving countries and people's democracies throughout the world, first of all the Soviet Union, all people's democracies and all oppressed nations, and stands in the camp for international peace and democracy to oppose jointly imperialist aggression and defend lasting world peace.

Article 54: The principle of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China is the safeguarding of the independence, freedom and integrity of territory and sovereignty of the country, supporting of lasting international peace and friendly cooperation between the peoples of all countries, and the opposing of the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

Article 55: The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China shall examine the treaties and agreements concluded between the Kuomintang and foreign governments, and recognize or abrogate, or revise or renew them according to their respective contents.

Article 56: The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China may negotiate and establish diplomatic relations on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty with foreign governments which sever relations with the Kuomintang reactionaries and adopt a friendly attitude towards the People's Republic of China.

Article 57: The People's Republic of China may restore and develop trading and commercial relations with foreign governments and people on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Article 58: The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China shall do its utmost to protect the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese residing abroad.

Article 59: The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China shall protect law-abiding foreign nationals in China.

Article 60: The People's Republic of China shall accord the right of asylum to foreign nationals who seek refuge in China because they are oppressed by their own governments for supporting the people's interests and taking part in the struggle for peace and democracy.

Proclamation of Central People's Government

CHAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung read the following proclamation on October 1, 1949 at a rally held in Peking to celebrate the formation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China:

The people throughout China have been plunged into bitter sufferings and tribulations since the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary government betrayed the fatherland, conspired with imperialists and launched the counter-revolutionary war. However, our People's Liberation Army, supported by the people throughout the country, fighting heroically and selflessly to defend the territorial sovereignty of the fatherland, to protect the people's lives and property, to relieve the people of their suffering and to struggle for their rights, has eliminated the reactionary troops and overthrown the reactionary rule of the National Government.

Now, the war of the people's liberation has been fundamentally won and the majority of the people throughout the country have been liberated.

On this foundation, the first session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, composed of the delegates of all democratic parties and groups, people's various regions, various nationalities, overseas Chinese and patriotic democratic elements of the whole country, has been convened. Representing the will of the people throughout the country, this session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has enacted the organic law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, elected Mao Tse-tung as Chairman of the Central People's Government, and Chu Teh, Liu Shao-chi, Soong Ching-ling, Li Chi-shen, Chang Lan and Kao Kang as Vice-Chairmen of the Central People's Government and Chen Yi, Ho Lung, Li Li-san, Lin Po-chu, Yeh Chien-ying, Ho Hsiang-ning, Lin Piao, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Po-cheng, Wu Yu-chang, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Peng Chen, Po Yi-po, Nieh Jung-chen, Chou En-lai, Tung Pi-wu, Saifudin, Jao Shu-shih, Tan Kah-kee, Lo Jung-huan, Teng Tsu-hui, Ulanfu, Hsu Teh-li, Tsai Chang, Liu Ke-ping, Ma Yin-chu, Chen Yun, Kang Sheng, Lin Feng, Ma Hsu-lun, Kuo Mo-jo, Chang Yun-yi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Kao Chung-min, Shen Chun-ju, Shen Yen-ping, Chen Shu-tung, Seeto Meitong, Li Hsi-chiu, Huang Yen-pei, Tsai Ting-kai, Hsi Chung-hsun, Peng Tse-min, Chang Chih-chung, Fu Tso-yi, Li Chu-chen, Li Chang-ta, Chang Po-chun, Cheng Chien, Chang Hsi-jo, Chen Ming-shu, Tan Ping-shan, Chang Nan-hsien, Liu Ya-tsu, Chang Tung-sun, and Lung Yun as council members to form the Central People's Government Council, proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China, and decided that Peking shall be the capital of the People's Republic of China.

The Central People's Government Council of the People's Republic of China took over office today in this capital and unanimously made the following decisions:

Proclamation of the formation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China;

Adoption of the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference as the policy of the Government;

Election of Lin Po-chu from among the council members as Secretary-General of the Central People's Government Council;

Appointment of Chou En-lai as Premier of the State Administration Council and concurrently as Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mao Tse-tung as Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Council of the Central People's Government, Chu Teh as Commander-in-Chief of the People's Liberation Army, Shen Chun-ju as Chief Justice of the Supreme People's Court, and Lo Jung-huan as Procurator General of the People's Procurator General's Office and entrusting them with the task of early formation of the various organs of the Government to carry out the work of the Government.

At the same time, the Central People's Government Council decided: to declare to the governments of all other countries that this Government is the sole legal government representing all the people of the People's Republic of China. This Government is willing to establish diplomatic relations with any foreign government which is willing to observe the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Proclamation Sent to Foreign Governments

MINISTER of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government, Chou En-lai, sent the proclamation of Chairman Mao Tse-tung to the governments of foreign countries on October 1, 1949. An official letter was sent with the proclamation to the consuls of the old consulates of the various countries in Peking for forwarding to their respective governments. The proclamation and letter were sent to the old embassies or old legations of countries in Nanking which have no consulates in Peking.

The official letter of Minister Chou En-lai reads:

I hereby send you the proclamation which was issued by Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China today, and hope that you will forward it to your government. I believe the establishment of normal relations between the People's Republic of China and countries in the world is necessary.

Mao Tse-tung on International Situation

ON June 6, Chairman Mao Tse-tung read a report to the Third Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, entitled "The Struggle for a Basic Turn for the Better in the Financial and Economic Situation of the State." The opening paragraphs of this report, which deal with the international situation, follow:

The present international situation is favorable to us. The world front of peace and democracy, headed by the Soviet Union, is more powerful than it was last year. The people's movement for peace and in opposition to war has spread in the various countries throughout the world. The national liberation movements, aiming at throwing off the yoke of imperialism, have greatly extended. Especially noteworthy is the mass movement of the Japanese and the German peoples that has arisen against the U.S. occupation and the people's liberation struggles that have developed among the oppressed nations in the east.

At the same time, the contradictions between the imperialist countries, principally between the U.S.A. and Britain, have also developed. Quarrels have also increased among the various groups within the American bourgeoisie and among the various groups within the British bourgeoisie. In contrast, there is strong unity in the relations between the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. The new Sino-Soviet treaty, which is of great historic significance, has consolidated friendly relations between the two countries. On the one hand, it enables us freely and more rapidly to carry forward the reconstruction work within our country. On the other hand, it is giving an impetus to the great struggle of the peoples throughout the world for peace and democracy in opposition to war and oppression.

The war threat of the imperialist camp still exists. The possibility of a third world war exists. However, the forces fighting to check the war danger, to prevent the outbreak of a third world war, are growing rapidly. The degree of consciousness of the great majority of the people in the world is rising. If only the communist parties of the whole world continue to unite all the possible forces for peace and democracy, and enable them to grow still further, a new world war can be thwarted. War rumors spread by KMT reactionaries are designed to deceive the people. They are groundless.

* * *

II—Relations with the United Nations

Demand to Expel KMT Delegates from General Assembly

ON November 15, 1949, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, President of the United Nations General Assembly, care of Secretary-General Trygve Lie, Lake Success, New York:

Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China officially declared to the world in the proclamation of the formation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China on October 1st: The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing all the people of the People's Republic of China. The liberation war of the Chinese people has now won a decisive nationwide victory, the remnant reactionary Kuomintang government is fundamentally doomed and is no longer qualified to represent the Chinese people.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I formally inform you that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China repudiates the legal status of the delegation under Tsiang Ting-fu sent by the so-called "Chinese national government" which is now attending the present session of the United Nations General Assembly, and holds that it cannot represent China and has no right to speak for the Chinese people in the United Nations organization.

* * *

ON the same day, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai also addressed a telegram to U.N. Secretary-General Trygve Lie:

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China was formally formed on October 1st. On the day of its formation, Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central People's Government solemnly proclaimed to the world: The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing all the people of the People's Republic of China.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has now fundamentally liberated the territory and people of all China and also won the enthusiastic support of the people throughout the country while the Kuomintang reactionary government is now in exile and dispersed and its remnant forces will soon be eliminated. This reactionary government has lost all de jure and de facto grounds for representing the Chinese people.

The so-called "delegation of the Chinese national government" participating in the United Nations Organization and attending the present session of the United Nations General Assembly in the name of the Chinese people has therefore become the tool of a handful of exiled elements, and is absolutely unqualified to represent the Chinese people.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I formally demand that the United Nations Organization immediately deprive the "delegation of the Chinese national government," in accordance with the principles and spirit of the United Nations Charter, of all rights further to represent the Chinese people in the United Nations, so as to conform to the wishes of the Chinese people.

Demand to Expel KMT from Security Council

ON January 8, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai addressed the following telegram to the United Nations, Lake Success:

To Mr. Carlos Romulo, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations; Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, and member delegations to the Security Council: delegations of the USSR, USA, France, United Kingdom, Ecuador, India, Cuba, Egypt and Norway.

This is to inform you that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China holds as illegal the presence of the delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique in the Security Council of the United Nations. The position of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is that the said delegates be expelled from the Security Council. It is hoped that this position be adopted and action be taken accordingly.

China Appoints UN Delegation

ON January 19, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai addressed the following telegram to the U.N. President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, and member delegations:

On the 8th of January, 1950, I addressed to the United Nations a note damanding the United Nations and the Secretary Council expel the illegitimate delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique. Mr. Trygve Lie has kindly replied acknowledging the receipt of this note of protest and stating that copies of it have been given to the member delegations of the Security Council.

I would like to inform you further, Messrs. President and Secretary-General, that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has appointed Chang Wen-tien Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to attend the meetings and to participate in the work of the United Nations, including the meetings and work of the Security Council.

Also may I request you, Messrs. President and Secretary-General, to answer the following two questions:

1. When will the illegitimate delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique be expelled from the United Nations and from the Security Council? I consider the continued presence to this day of the illegitimate delegates of such a reactionary remnant clique in the United Nations and the Security Council as completely unjustified. They should be expelled immediately.

2. When can the legimate delegation of the People's Republic of China under the chairmanship of Chang Wen-tien attend the meetings and participate in the work of the United Nations and the Security Council? I consider that this delegation should attend the meetings and participate in the work without delay.

An early reply will be appreciated.

Delegate to Economic and Social Council Appointed

ON February 2, 1950, Li Ke-nung, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent the following telegram to the U.N.:

On the 19th of January, 1950, Mr. Chou En-lai, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, addressed to you a notification that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China had appointed Chang Wen-tien Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to attend the meetings and to participate in the work of the United Nations, including the meetings and work of the Security Council, and asked you to communicate it to the member delegations to the United Nations and the Security Council.

Since then more than ten days have passed, and yet the illegitimate delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are still tolerated in the Security Council and in the other organizations of the United Nations, but not expelled immediately. I consider this as unjustified.

Now that the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations is due to convene its session on the 7th of February, I would like to inform you further, Messrs. President and Secretary-General, that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has appointed Chi Chao-ting as representative of the People's Republic of China to attend the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Please communicate this to the parties concerned, and give an early reply to the questions when can the legitimate delegation of the People's Republic of China under the chairmanship of Chang Wen-tien, and when can Chi Chao-ting, attend the meetings of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations respectively.

Delegate to Trusteeship Council Appointed

ON May 30, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

On January 19, 1950, I addressed to you a note stating that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China had appointed Chang Wen-tien head of the delegation of the People's Republic of China to attend the meetings and participate in the work of the United Nations, including the meetings and work of the Security Council.

On February 2, 1950, Mr. Li Ke-nung, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, addressed to you a note, stating that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China had appointed Chi Chao-ting representative of the People's Republic of China to attend the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Yet until this day the illegal delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are still tolerated in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and all the other related organs and agencies of the United Nations, excepting the Universal Postal Union, but not expelled therefrom immediately.

I consider this as unjustified. Now that the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations is due to convene its session on June 1, I would like to inform you further that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has appointed Meng Yung-chien representative of the People's Republic of China to attend the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.

Please communicate this message to the parties concerned and give an early reply to the question as to when the sole legitimate delegation appointed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China can participate in the work of the United Nations, and when its representatives to the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and other related organs and agencies of the United Nations can participate in the meetings and work of the said organs and agencies.

Statement on Security Council's Decision Regarding Korea

ON July 6, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China I declare: The resolution adopted by the Security Council on June 27 under the instigation and manipulation of the United States government, calling upon the members of the United Nations to assist the South Korean authorities, is in support of United States' armed aggression and constitutes an intervention in the internal affairs of Korea and violation of world peace.

This resolution, being adopted moreover in the absence of the two permanent members of the Security Council, the People's Republic of China and the USSR, is obviously illegal. The United Nations Charter stipulates that the United Nations shall not be authorized to intervene in matters which are essentially within the internal jurisdiction of any state, while the resolution of the Security Council on June 27 exactly violates this important principle of the United Nations Charter.

Therefore, the resolution of the Security Council with regard to the Korean question is not only destitute of any legal validity, but greatly damages the United Nations Charter. The action taken by Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, on the Korean question serves exactly to aggravate this damage.

Meanwhile, the statement by the United States President Truman on June 27, of the beginning of armed prevention of Taiwan's liberation by the People's Republic of China, together with the action of the United States navy in invading the Chinese territorial waters around Taiwan, forms an act of open aggression which thoroughly violates the principle of the United Nations Charter forbidding any member to use force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other state.

Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. This is not only a historical fact recognized by the entire world, but is also confirmed by the Cairo Declaration, the Potsdam Declaration and the situation since the surrender of Japan.

By keeping silent on this act of open aggression of the United States government, the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations have foregone their functions and duties of upholding world peace, and thereby become pliant instruments to the policy of the United States government. Now, in the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China I declare: Despite any military steps of obstruction taken by the United States government, the Chinese people are irrevocably determined to liberate Taiwan without fail.

Statement on Korean Question

ON August 20, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Yakov Malik, President of the Security Council and Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

The United States of America instigated the Korean incident, launched sea, land and air forces in a direct aggression of Korea, and invaded the territory of the People's Republic of China—Taiwan—with her 7th fleet, attempting thereby to enlarge the war and attain her goal of subjugating Asia, thus seriously violating peace in Asia and the world.

The peace-loving peoples all over Asia and the world eagerly hope that the United Nations shoulder the responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and security, and regulate the Korean question promptly by effective and peaceful methods. Korea is China's neighboring country, the Chinese people cannot but be more concerned about the solution of the Korean question. The question of Korea must and can be settled peacefully; but so far the diligent obstructive and dilatory actions on the part of the United States of America in the Security Council meetings have prevented the reasonable peaceful settlement of the Korean question in which the whole world is interested. The United States government should bear total responsibility for the fact that the Korean question failed to attain a peaceful settlement.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China fully supports all the proposals concerning the peaceful regulation of the Korean question submitted on August 4th in the United Nations Security Council by Mr. Yakov Malik on behalf of the USSR government. These proposals are in complete accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter and with the wishes of the peoples of Asia and the world.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China firmly maintains that when the Korean question is being discussed in the Security Council it is necessary that the delegate of the People's Republic of China, a country with a population of 475 millions, should take part and the representatives of the Korean people be invited to express their opinions; that the military operations in Korea must be stopped and all foreign troops be withdrawn from Korea. Otherwise it would be impossible to have a reasonable peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China firmly opposes the barbarous bombing of the towns and peaceful inhabitants conducted by American aviation in Korea, fully supports the solemn and rightful protest lodged by Mr. Bak Hun Yung, Foreign Minister of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, before the United Nations Security Council on August 5, and demands that the Security Council take immediate steps to stop promptly the atrocities committed by the United States forces in violation of international law and the rules of human ethics. This is a duty which cannot be waived by any member of the Security Council to which is entrusted the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Demand Security Council Action Against US Aggression on Taiwan

ON August 24, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Yakov Malik, President of the Security Council and Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

On June 27 this year President Truman of the United States of America announced the decision of United States government to prevent with armed forces the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Meanwhile, the United States Seventh Fleet moved toward the straits of Taiwan, followed by the arrival in Taiwan of contingents of the United States Air Force, in an open encroachment on the territory of the People's Republic of China. This action on the part of the United States government is direct armed aggression on the territory of China, and a total violation of the United Nations Charter.

Taiwan is an integral part of China. This is not only a fact based on history, confirmed by the situation since the surrender of Japan, but it is also stipulated in the Cairo Declaration of 1943 and the Potsdam Communique of 1945 as binding international agreements which the United States government has pledged itself to respect and observe.

The people of China cannot tolerate this action of armed aggression by the United States government on the territory of China, and are determined to liberate from the tentacles of the United States aggressors Taiwan and all other territories belonging to China.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I now lodge this accusation with the United Nations Security Council and propose that, for the maintenance of international peace and security and for the upholding of the dignity of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations Security Council is obliged by its inalienable duties to condemn the United States government for its criminal act in the armed invasion of the territory of China, and to take immediate measures to bring about the complete withdrawal of all the United States armed invading forces from Taiwan and from other territories belonging to China.

Delegates to General Assembly

ON August 26, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the Chinese people. The so-called "delegates" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique have no qualification whatsoever for participating in any of the meetings and organs of the United Nations, and must therefore be driven out from all the meetings and organs of the United Nations.

Accordingly, on November 15, 1949, I sent on behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China a note to you and to Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, President of the Fourth Session of the United Nations General Assembly, declaring that the so-called "delegations of the Chinese National Government" headed by Tsiang Ting-fu had absolutely no right to represent China. On January 8, January 19, February 2 and May 30, 1950, I have repeatedly sent further notes to you and to Mr. Romulo, demanding that the United Nations immediately expel the illegitimate delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique from the United Nations and its Security Council, Economic and Social Council and Trusteeship Council, and notifying that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has appointed Chang Wen-tien as chief representative of the People's Republic of China to attend the meetings of the United Nations, including those of the Security Council, Chi Chao-ting as representative on the Economic and Social Council, and Meng Yung-chien as representative on the Trusteeship Council.

Yet to this day the illegitimate delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are still tolerated by the United Nations in its various organs and have not so far been expelled therefrom. I consider this not only a violation of the United Nations Charter but also a disregard of the rightful claim of the four hundred seventy-five million people of the People's Republic of China.

Now that the Fifth Session of the United Nations General Assembly is due to meet on September 19, I hereby inform you formally on behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has appointed Chang Wen-tien as Chairman of its delegation, and Li Yi-mang, Chou Shih-ti, Chi Chao-ting and Meng Yung-chien as the representatives of the People's Republic of China to attend the Fifth Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Please communicate the same to the parties concerned and make the arrangements necessary for the delegation of the People's Republic of China to attend the Fifth Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Please reply promptly by cable.

Delegate Appointed to UNICEF Executive Board

ON August 26, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, for transmission to Dr. L. Rajchman, Chairman, and Mr. Maurice Pate, Executive Director, of the Executive Board of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund:

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the Chinese people. In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I now inform you formally that the so-called "delegates" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique have no longer any qualification for participating in the Executive Board of the UNICEF and must be driven out from the said board and its various organs and meetings.

I want to inform you also that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has appointed Mr. Wu Yun-fu the representative to participate in the Executive Board of the UNICEF.

I must point out that the missions and personnel sent out in the past by the Executive Board of the UNICEF to work in the liberated areas of China have failed to adhere strictly to the principle of respecting our national sovereignty, transgressed repeatedly the agreements reached between them and the relief bodies in the liberated areas of China, failed to carry out truly their relief duties, and even the far from adequate quota of materials allocated at that time has not been delivered fully to this day. This kind of state of affairs must be redressed. Please note and reply by cable, and transmit the same to the Executive Board of the UNICEF and all other parties concerned.

Invasion of Chinese Air by US Airplanes

ON August 27, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Yakov Malik, President of the UN Security Council, and Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

According to the report of the People's Government of Northeast China, on August 27 military airplanes of the United States aggression forces in Korea invaded the air of the People's Republic of China, flying along the right bank of the Yalu River and strafed our buildings, railway stations, railway carriages and people, killing and wounding a number of them; the situation is extremely serious.

The details of the fact are as follows. At 10:04 hours on August 27, two United States B-29 bombers flew to the sky above the city of Chi An and its vicinity to the right of the middle stretch of the Yalu River, circling and reconnoitering for more than 10 minutes. At 10:05 hours the same day, four United States airplanes consisting of three P-51's and one Mosquito flew to the sky above the area of Linchiang city and the nearby railway station of Talitzu to the right of the upper stretch of the Yalu River, strafing the station building at Talitzu for two minutes and along the railway lines for another two minutes, damaging one locomotive. At 11:04 hours another four United States airplanes came to the same area and machine-gunned the district around the bridge on the river for 11 minutes, damaging two locomotives, one passenger carriage and one guard carriage, and wounding one locomotive engineer and one inhabitant. At 14:30 hours the same day, a United States B-29 bomber circled and reconnoitered over the city of Antung to the right of the lower stretch of the Yalu River. At 16:40 hours, two United States P-51 planes came over the Antung airfield and strafed for two minutes, wounding 19 and killing three workers, and damaging two trucks.

These provocative and atrocious acts of invading the air of China on the part of the United States aggression forces in Korea are a serious criminal action of encroaching upon China's sovereignty, killing Chinese people, and attempting to extend the war and violate peace, a criminal action which the Chinese people can by no means tolerate.

Apart from lodging a serious protest and raising demands to Mr. Dean Acheson, the United States Secretary of State, I hereby raise, on behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, this accusation before the United Nations Security Council and propose that for the sake of peace and security of Asia and the world, the United Nations Security Council is obliged by its inalienable duties to condemn the United States aggression forces in Korea for their provocative and atrocious action of invading China's air, and the take immediate measures to bring about the complete withdrawal of all the United States aggression forces from Korea, so that the situation will not be aggravated and the peaceful regulation of the Korean question by the United Nations will be facilitated.

Second Protest Over Invasion of Chinese Territory by US Airplanes

ON August 30, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Yakov Malik, President of the UN Security Council, and Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

Following the incidents of August 27, the military airplanes of the United States aggression forces in Korea again invaded the air of the People's Republic of China on August 29 and killed and wounded a number of Chinese people.

At 17:45 on August 29, four United States fighters flew over from Korea and invaded, and reconnoitered from, the air above Lakooshao of the Kuantien district of China on the right bank of the Yalu River. Afterwards they flew along the right bank of the Yalu River to Changtienhokou about one kilometre from Lakooshao, where they fired shots at Chinese civilian boats, killing one Chinese fisherman and wounding two others. At 17:50 the same fighters came to the air above Kooloutzu to the northeast of Antung where they again fired shots at our civilian boats, killing three Chinese fishermen, severely wounding two, and slightly injuring three others.

These continued provocative and atrocious acts on the part of the United States aggression forces in Korea clearly exposed and testified to the intention of the United States government to exend the war and violate world peace.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby again raise this accusation before the United Nations, and demand that the United Nations Security Council immediately take, on the basis of my proposal of August 27, effective measures to stop the action on the part of the United States aggression forces in Korea to extend the scope of their aggression, and bring about promptly the withdrawal of the United States aggression forces from Korea, so that the issue will not assume more serious proportions.

I consider it most urgent that these measures should be taken without delay.

Demand for Representation on the Security Council

ON September 10, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Sir Gladwyn Jebb, President of the Security Council and Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

On August 31, 1950, the United Nations Security Council adopted on its agenda the accusation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against the invasion by the military airplanes of the United States aggression forces in Korea, of the territorial air of the People's Republic of China, and by strafing, killed and wounded Chinese people and damaged Chinese properties.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, being the sole legal government representing the Chinese people, and at the same time initiator of the proposal and accuser in this case, has the right and necessity to send its delegation to attend and join the United Nations Security Council.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby raise the demand before the United Nations Security Council that when the Security Council is proceeding with the above-mentioned item on the agenda, there must be the representative of the People's Republic of China present, stating his case and participating in the discussion. This is a question that should be settled first on the procedure.

Should the Security Council proceed with the above-mentioned item on the agenda without the attendance and participation in discussion of the representative of the People's Republic of China, all its resolutions adopted will be illegal, and therefore null and void.

Security Council Discussion on US Aggression on Taiwan

ON September 16, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Gladwyn Jebb, President of the Security Council and Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

On September 10 I sent to you a cable demanding that when the Security Council proceeded with the discussion on the accusation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against the invasion by the military airplanes of the United States aggression forces in Korea, of the territorial air of the People's Republic of China, and the strafings that killed and wounded Chinese people and damaged Chinese properties; there must be present the representative of the People's Republic of China to state the case and participate in the discussion.

This justified demand, receiving the support of six states in the Security Council session on September 11, was finally rejected through the manipulation and obstruction of the United States. This was a complete violation of the United Nations Charter.

The United Nations Security Council, on August 29, adopted on its agenda the accusation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against the United States armed aggression on Taiwan, the territory of China, and recently decided to begin discussion on September 18. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, being the sole legal government representing the Chinese people, and at the same time the initiator of the proposal and the accuser in this case, has the right and necessity to send its delegation to attend and join the United Nations Security Council.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby firmly demand of the United Nations Security Council that when the Security Council proceeds with the above-mentioned item on the agenda, there must be present the representative of the People's Republic of China to state the case and participate in the discussion; this is a question which must be settled first on procedure.

Should the Security Council proceed with the above-mentioned item on the agenda without the attendance and participation in the discussion of the representative of the People's Republic of China, all its resolutions adopted will be illegal, and therefore null and void.

Demand to Attend General Assembly

ON September 17, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

During the 10 months since November 15, 1949, I have stated many times to the various organizations of the United Nations that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the Chinese people, that the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique has forfeited all legal and factual basis for representing the Chinese people, and that the United Nations must drive out the illegal "delegates" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique from all the meetings and organs of the United Nations, and accept the legal delegates of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

Yet at the present time, the illegal "delegates" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique still remain in all the organs of the United Nations except the Universal Postal Union; this is completely unjustified and constitutes a gross violation of the United Nations Charter.

Now that the 5th session of the United Nations General Assembly is due to meet soon, the so-called "Delegation of the Chinese National Government" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique is going again to New York to participate in the United Nations General Assembly, and to submit to the United Nations General Assembly the item of the so-called "threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of China and to the peace of the Far East, resulting from Soviet violations of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of August 14, 1945, and from Soviet violations of the Charter of the United Nations." This is an illegal act of assuming the name of the delegates of the Chinese people, usurping the rights of the Chinese people, and insulting the United Nations, an illegal act which the Chinese people firmly oppose and cannot tolerate.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I herby solemnly inform you that the so-called "Delegation of the Chinese National Government" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique absolutely cannot represent the Chinese people; they have no qualification whatsoever for participating in this session of the United Nations General Assembly, let alone any right to make proposals to the United Nations General Assembly.

Should the United Nations General Assembly accept the illegal "delegation" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique, or accept and consider the above-mentioned item or any other items proposed by it, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China would consider this a most unfriendly action toward the Chinese people on the part of the United Nations, and that, as a result of such an action, the United Nations General Assembly would degenerate into an instrument in the service of a handful of fugitive elements, the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique, for slandering and provoking the 475 million people of China..

Apart from resolutely opposing, on behalf of the Chinese people, such an action, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China reserves the right to take action on this question.

I hereby inform you once more: the 5th session of the United Nations General Assembly must immediately drive out the illegal "delegates" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique. At the same time, please make immediately all the arrangements necessary for the delegation of the People's Republic of China to attend this session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Should the 5th session of the United Nations General Assembly be held without the participation of the delegation of the People's Republic of China, or, worse still, with the illegal "delegates" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique tolerated therein, all the resolutions adopted by it concerning China would be illegal, and consequently null and void.

Delegates Appointed by the Central People's Government to International Bodies

1. Chief Delegate to United Nations: Chang Wen-tien. Appointment made known in a telegram sent to the United Nations on January 19, 1950.
2. Delegate to Economic and Social Council: Chi Chao-ting. Appointment made known in a telegram sent to the United Nations on February 2, 1950.
3. Chief Delegate to International Tele-Communications Union: Li Chiang. Appointment made known in a telegram sent to the Secretary-General of the ITU on March 29, 1950. The appointment of Chung Chih-fa as his adviser was made known in a telegram to ITU on August 26, 1950.
4. Delegates to International Broadcasting Conference held at Florence, Italy on April 1, 1950: Li Chiang, Chung Chih-fa, Lin Ting-hsueh. Appointment made known in a telegram sent to the Secretary-General of the ITCU on April 1, 1950.
5. League of the Red Cross Societies: On April 28, 1950 Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent a telegram to the Secretary of the League of the Red Cross Societies informing him of the formal denial by the Central People's Government of the delegates of the Kuomintang clique.
6. Delegate to Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: Chi Chao-ting. Appointment made known in a telegram to the United Nations on April 28, 1950.
7. Delegate to Universal Postal Union: Su Yu-nung. Appointment made known in telegrams sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Secretary-General of the Executive and Liaison Committee of the Universal Postal Union on May 5, 1950.

The delegate of the People's Republic of China was allowed to attend the session which opened on May 15, 1950 of the Executive and Liaison Committee of the Universal Postal Union. The Committee by secret ballot passed a decision to the effect that "the delegate of the People's Republic of China be allowed to attend the present session of the Executive Committee as the sole authorized representative of China." The Kuomintang delegate was expelled.

8. Delegate to the Committee on Industry and Trade of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: Chi Chao-ting. Appointment made known in a telegram to the United Nations on May 7, 1950.

9. Food and Agriculture Organization: On May 12, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent a telegram to the Secretary-General of FAO demanding the expulsion of the delegates of the Kuomintang clique.

10. World Health Organization: On May 12, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent a telegram to the Director-General of WHO demanding the expulsion of the delegates of the Kuomintang clique.

11. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: On May 12, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent a telegram to the Director-General of this organization demanding the expulsion of the delegates of the Kuomintang clique.

12. World Meteorological Organization: On May 12, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent a telegram to the Chief of the Secretariat of this organization demanding the expulsion of the delegates of the Kuomintang clique.

13. International Civil Aviation Organization: On May 30, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent a telegram to the Secretary-General of the ICAO asking him to drive out the delegates of the Kuomintang clique from the various organs and meetings of that organization.

14. Delegate to the UN Trusteeship Council: Meng Yung-chien. Appointment made known in a telegram to the United Nations on May 30, 1950.

15. International Labor Organization: On June 5, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent telegrams to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director-General of the ILO stating that the delegates of the Kuomintang clique must be driven out from the various organs and meetings of the ILO.

16. International Law Commission: On June 5, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent a telegram to the United Nations stating that the delegates of the Kuomintang clique must be driven out from the various meetings of the ILC.

17 Chief Delegate to the Allied Council for Japan: General Chow Sze-ti. Appointment made known in a telegram to the Chairman of the Allied Council for Japan on June 19, 1950.

18. International Monetary Fund: On August 26, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent a telegram to the Managing Director of the Fund advising him that the Kuomintang clique must be driven out from the Fund's organs and meetings.

19. International Bank of Reconstruction and Development: On August 26, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent a telegram to the President of the Bank advising him that the Kuomintang clique must be driven out from the Bank's organs and meetings.

20. Delegate to United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund: Wu Yun-fu. Appointment made known in a telegram to the Executive Director of the Fund on August 26, 1950.

21. Delegates to the Fifth Session of the United Nations General Assembly: Chief Delegate, Chang Wen-tien; Li Yi-mang, Chou Shih-ti, Chi Chao-ting and Meng Yung-chien. Appointments made known in a telegram to the United Nations on August 26, 1950.

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III—Relations with the United States

Mukden Consulate

FOR material on the deportation of the US Consul in Mukden, Angus Ward, see January 14, 1950 China Weekly Review.

Requisition of Foreign Barracks in Peking

THE following proclamation was issued by the Peking City Military Control Committee of the Chinese People's Liberation Army on January 6, 1950:

1. Certain foreign countries in the past, taking advantage of the so-called 'right of stationing troops' stipulated in the unequal treaties, occupied land in the city of Peking and built barracks. The ownership of the aforementioned land should of course be taken back by China as a result of the abrogation of the unequal treaties.

2. Our government shall formulate separate measures to solve the problems in regard to the buildings arising from the taking over of the land.

3. These barracks and other buildings shall at present be requisitioned because of military needs.

4. This requisition will take effect seven days after the issuing of this proclamation.

The land that was thus taken over consisted of the former American barracks, with an area of 33.8 mow; the former French barracks, with an area of 33.64 mow; the former German barracks with an area of 26 mow. (six mow equal one acre).

US Diplomatic Personnel in China

THE following report appeared in the February 5, 1950 New China News Agency:

Why have the large number of personnel of former United States Consulates in China not withdrawn from China in accordance with the order announced by the US government? "This is a question which can only be answered by the US State Department," a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China today told a New China News Agency correspondent.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman stated: "Although the US government utilized the taking back by the Peking Military Control Committee of the land on which were built American barracks to declare on January 15 that official personnel still remaining in China have been ordered back to America, attempting thus to intimidate our people, the action of the US government has fallen astonishingly behind its statement. The overwhelming majority of the former American diplomatic personnel in China have up till now shown no sign of moving.

"They have not applied to our government for exit permits, although our government is ready to permit them to leave at any time. This looks as though Washington has not really made any decision for the withdrawal of American official personnel from China as declared by the US State Department spokesman twenty days ago."

Asked about the truth of the United Press dispatch datelined Washington January 25th stating that Dean Acheson had told the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the Chinese People's Government had put difficulties in the way of withdrawal of American nationals, the Foreign Ministry spokesman replied, "This is a complete fabrication."

"Our government will not prevent any American official and his dependents from leaving China. On the contrary, from the experience that the former US consuls in Mukden and Tihua engaged in espionage activities, we would rather like to hear that all American officials will leave China sooner.

"David D. Barrett, former US Deputy Military Attache in Peking, left the city on February 3 and J. D. Vanputten, former head of the United States Information Service, was granted permission on January 27 to leave Peking. But the personnel of former US consulates in Peking, Tientsin and many other places have so far remained silent.

"Does the US government secretly regret the decision it has made on envisaging that a day will come when it will have to ask our government to permit those who have now been granted permission to leave to return to China and that this will result in a big loss of face? In any case, we see once again in this affair that US imperialism is outwardly strong and inwardly weak."

Foreign Minister Chou's Statement on Acheson's Speech of March 15

ON March 18, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai made the following statement:

Dean Acheson, Secretary of the US State Department, made another long speech about Asia on March 15. The aim of Acheson's incessant speeches and talks recently is to dupe some people who still lack experience of America's aggressive policy. But in the light of the facts Acheson's words can be clearly seen to be distortions.

In his March 15 speech Acheson said that America does not "want to take anything" from the Asian peoples and does not "want to deny them any opportunity, any freedom, any right."

In reality, America not only acquired the Philippines and numerous strategic Pacific islands fifty years ago and got control over Japan and South Korea after World War Two, but is also attempting to control China, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Thailand, Burma and India.

The whole world knows that the US government, in its attempt to annex China, has supported Chiang Kai-shek in waging large-scale civil war, denying the Chinese people any freedom or any rights, any opportunity to live in independence and peace. To this moment the United States government is supplying the Chiang Kai-shek brigands with planes to bomb the mainland of China. Is this not a fact?

The United States is employing similar methods to support the puppets Bao Dai, Syngman Rhee and Quirino in undermining the national independence movements of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of South Korea and the Philippines. However, Acheson declares that the United States "supports" the movements for national independence of the Asian peoples. Is this not turning facts upside down?

Acheson says to the Chinese people: Why don't you ask for American aid? America wants so much to "aid" you!

But from their personal experience, the Chinese people have realized what American so-called "aid" means. It means death for millions, it means the loss of national freedom and rights. Since the Chinese rid themselves of American "aid," things have got well for China and she has really become independent.

This is a useful lesson for the people of the whole world, especially for the people of the colonies and semi-colonies, who have been selected or are being selected as objects of aggression by American imperialism.

Acheson continued trying to disrupt the great alliance recently contracted between China and the Soviet Union. But anyone with a little commonsense knows that his mean fabrications and slanders are like a mosquito trying to shatter the fortress of world peace.

Did Acheson not declare on January 12 that the Soviet Union was "detaching" the four great northern areas of China? Why didn't he dare mention it again in his March 15 speech? Only one prospect faces rumor-mongers—utter bankruptcy.

Acheson threatens: The signing of an alliance of equality and friendship between the Chinese people and the Soviet Union—brushing aside the "established friendship" of the American aggressors—is "hostile to the interests of the US." He also threatens that China must not concern herself with Asian affairs, on pain of violating "not only every tradition and interest of the Chinese people" and "the traditions and interests of their Asian neighbors, of the American people, and—indeed—of all free peoples," but also violating "the UN Charter."

I think I must tell Acheson on behalf of the biggest nation in Asia and of her people that these ridiculous threats are already anachronisms. Cool down and look at the map! The affairs of the Asian peoples must be settled by the Asian people themselves, and must never be interfered with by such American imperialists as Acheson and company on the other side of the Pacific Ocean!

Foreign Minister Chou's Statement to MacArthur Regarding Release of Japanese War Criminals

See Miscellaneous section

Foreign Minister Chou's Statement on Truman's Statement of June 27, 1950

AFTER instigating the puppet government of Synman Rhee in south Korea to provoke civil war in Korea, the United States President, Truman, made a statement on June 27, declaring that the United States government had decided to prevent, by armed force, our liberation of Taiwan.

On Truman's orders, the American Seventh Fleet has moved to the coast of Taiwan.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I declare that Truman's statement of the 27th and the actions of the American Navy constitute armed aggression against the territory of China, and total violation of the United Nations Charter.

This violent, predatory action by the US government comes as no surprise to the Chinese people but only increases their wrath; because the Chinese people have, over a long period, constantly exposed all the conspiratorial schemes of American imperialism for aggression against China and grabbing Asia by force. All that Truman's statement does is to openly expose his premeditated plan and put it into practice.

In fact, the attack by the puppet Korean government of Syngman Rhee on the Korean Democratic People's Republic, at the instigation of the US government, was a premeditated move by the United States, designed to create a pretext for the United States to invade Taiwan, Korea, Viet-Nam and the Philippines. It is precisely a further act of intervention by American imperialism in the affairs of Asia.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I declare that no matter what obstructive action the US imperialists may take, the fact that Taiwan is a part of China will remain unchanged forever. This is not only a historical fact; it has also been confirmed by the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations and by the situation since the surrender of Japan.

All the people of our country will certainly fight to the end single-mindedly to liberate Taiwan from the grasp of the American aggressors. The Chinese people, who defeated Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, the hireling of American imperialism, will surely be victorious in driving off the American aggressors and in recovering Taiwan and all other territories belonging to China.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China calls on all peoples throughout the world who love peace, justice and freedom, and especially on all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East, to rise as one and halt the new aggression of American imperialism in the East. Such aggressian can be completely defeated if we do not yield to threats but resolutely mobilize the broad masses of the people to take part in the struggle against the warmakers.

The Chinese people express their sympathy and respect for the people of Korea, Viet-Nam, the Philippines and Japan who are similarly victims of U.S. aggression and are similarly fighting against it.

The Chinese people firmly believe that all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East are undoubtedly capable of burying the vicious and hated American imperialist warmakers once and for all in the great flames of the struggle for national independence.

Foreign Minister Chou's Statement on UN Security Council Decision of June 27, 1950

See United Nations section.

China's Proposals to the Security Council for Korea on August 20, 1950

See United Nations section.

China Demands Action Against US Armed Agression in Taiwan

See United Nations section.

Protest Lodged with Acheson Over US Planes Invading Chinese Territory

ON August 27, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Dean Acheson, Secretary of State of the United States:

According to a report of the People's Government of Northeast China, on August 27 military airplanes of US aggression forces in Korea invaded the air of the People's Republic of China, flying along the right bank of the Yalu River, and strafed our buildings, railway stations, railway carriages and people, killing and wounding a number of them; the situation is extremely serious.

The details of the fact are as follows. At 10:04 on August 27, two United States B-29 bombers flew to the sky above the city of Chi An and its vicinity to the right of the middle stretch of the Yalu River, circling and reconnoitering for more than ten minutes. At 10:05 the same day, four United States airplanes consisting of three P-51's and one Mosquito flew to the sky above the area of Linchiang city and the nearby railway station of Talitzu to the right of the upper stretch of the Yalu River, strafing the station building at Talitzu for two minutes and along the railway lines for another two minutes, damaging one locomotive. At 11:04 another four United States airplanes came to the same area and machine-gunned the district around the bridge on the river for 11 minutes, damaging two locomotives, one passenger carriage and one guard carriage and wounding one locomotive engineer and one inhabitant. At 14:30 the same day, a United States B-29 bomber circled and reconnoitered over the city of Antung to the right of the lower stretch of the Yalu River. At 16:40, two United States P-51 planes came over the Antung airfield and strafed for two minutes, wounding 19 and killing three workers, and damaging two trucks.

With regard to the above provocative and atrocious acts of invading the air of Chinese territory by the United States aggression forces in Korea, I, on behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, lodge a serious protest to the United States government. The United States government should bear all the responsibilities and consequences of these provocative acts of violating the sovereignty of China and the killing of Chinese people by the United States armed forces. I demand that the United States government:

1. Immediately punish the United States air force for these provocative and atrocious acts of invading the air of Chinese territory, killing Chinese people and damaging Chinese railway carriages.

2. Undertake the responsibility of compensating all the losses sustained by China.

I, on behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, also make the following statement: the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China reserves all rights of raising further demands with regard to these criminal acts of provocation and atrocities of United States aggression forces in Korea.

China Demands US Troops Withdraw from Korea and Protests US Planes Invading Chinese Territory

See United Nations section

Second Protest to UN over US Planes Invading Chinese Territory

See United Nations section

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IV—Relations with the USSR

Establishment of Diplomatic Relations

ON October 3, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sent the following telegram to Andrei Gromyko, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR:

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I am greatly honored to receive your telegram of October 2 notifying that the government of the USSR has decided to establish diplomatic relations betweeen the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

The People's Republic of China is deeply convinced that the government of the USSR has the most profound friendship for the Chinese people. It is also the first friendly state to recognize the People's Republic of China today. The Chinese government and the Chinese people feel boundless joy over this. I hereby notify you that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China warmly welcomes the immediate establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the USSR and exchange of ambassadors.

Exchange of Ambassadors

ON October 16, 1950, Mr. N. V. Roshchin, first Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, presented credentials to Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The Chinese Ambassador to the USSR is Wang Chia-hsiang.

Note to USSR Regarding Trial of Japanese War Criminals

See Miscellaneous section.

Speech at Signing of Treaty and Agreements

ON the occasion of the signing of the treaty and agreements by the People's Republic of China and the USSR on February 14, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai made the following speech:

The new Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, the Agreement on the Chinese-Changchun Railway, Port Arthur and Dairen, the Agreement on Granting Credit to China have been signed today between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the notes have been exchanged.

The conclusion of the above treaty and agreements is based on the vital interests of the great peoples of China and the Soviet Union and indicates fraternal friendship and eternal cooperation between China and the Soviet Union. The conclusion of the treaty and agreements is a special expression of fervent assistance to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people on the part of the Soviet Union directed by the policy of Generalissimo Stalin.

There is no doubt that this close and sincere cooperation between China and the Soviet Union is of extremely profound historial importance and will inevitably have immense influence upon and results for the cause of peace and justice for the peoples of the East and the whole world.

The great friendship between our two Powers has been consolidated since the October Socialist Revolution. However, imperialism and the counter-revolutionary government of China hampered the further cooperation between us. The victory of the Chinese people has brought about radical changes in the situation. The Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung have set up the People's Republic of China and have formed a state of unprecedented unity and this has made possible sincere cooperation between our two great states. Thanks to the meetings and the exchange of opinions between Generalissimo Stalin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung this possibility has become reality and the friendship, alliance and mutual assistance of China and the Soviet Union are sealed now with the signed treaty.

The imperialist bloc headed by American imperialism resorted to all kinds of provocative methods attempting to frustrate the friendship between our Powers but these ignominous attempts utterly failed.

The significance of the treaty and agreements between China and the Soviet Union is of particular importance for the revived People's Republic of China. This treaty and these agreements will help the Chinese people to realize that they are not alone, and will help in the restoration and development of Chinese economy.

The agreement between China and the Soviet Union on the Chinese-Changchun Railway, Port Arthur and Dairen, the Agreement on Granting Credit to China, and also the exchange of letters on transferring gratis to the Chinese Government by the Soviet Government of the property acquired in Manchuria from Japanese owners and on transferring gratis buildings in the former so-called military cantonment in Peking, which constitute a demonstration of the great friendship on the part of the Soviet government and Generalissimo Stalin, doubtlessly will evoke the greatest enthusiasm among the Chinese people.

Permit me on behalf of the Chinese people to express gratitude to Generalissimo Stalin and the Soviet government for this great friendship.

China and the Soviet Union are effecting close cooperation for the sake of peace, justice and universal security and this cooperation expresses not only the interests of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union but also the interests of all peace-loving and just peoples of the East and the whole world. I believe that our treaty and agreements will be supported not only by the peoples of China and the Soviet Union but also by progressive mankind of the whole world, while they will be regarded with enmity only by the imperialists and warmongers.

The unity of nearly 700,000,000 population of the peoples of the two countries, China and the Soviet Union, will be an invincible force.

Long live the permanent friendship and eternal cooperation between China had the Soviet Union.

Joint Communique of the Two Powers

THE following is the Sino-Soviet communique on the signing of the treaty and agreements between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union:

Of late negotiations were held in Moscow between Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the Government Administration Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the one hand, and J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and A. Y. Vyshinsky, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, on the other, during which important political and economic questions of relations between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union were considered.

These negotiations which proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendly mutual understanding confirmed the desire of both parties to strengthen and develop in every way relations of friendship and cooperation between them as well as their desire to cooperate for the purpose of ensuring universal peace and security of nations.

The negotiations ended in the signing in the Kremlin on February 14, 1950 of: 1) the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union; 2) the Agreement on the Chinese-Changchun Railway, Port Arthur and Dairen, on the strength of which after the signing of the peace treaty with Japan the Chinese-Changchun Railway is to be handed over in full possession of the People's Republic of China and Soviet troops are to be withdrawn from Port Arthur; and 3) the Agreement on the granting by the government of the Soviet Union to the government of the People's Republic of China of long-term economic credit for paying for the deliveries of industrial and railway equipment from the USSR.

The aforementioned treaty and agreements were signed from the side of the People's Republic of China by Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Chou En-lai and from the USSR side by Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Y. Vyshinsky.

In connection with the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance and the Agreement on the Chinese-Changchun Railway, Port Arthur and Dairen, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Chou En-lai and Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Y. Vyshinsky exchanged notes to the effect that the respective treaty and agreements concluded on August 14, 1945, between China and the Soviet Union have become invalid, and also that both governments state a full guarantee of the independent position of the Mongolian People's Republic as a result of the referendum of 1945 and of the establishment with it of diplomatic relations by the People's Republic of China.

Simultaneously, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Chou En-lai and Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Y. Vyshinsky also exchanged notes on the decision of the Soviet government to hand over gratis to the government of the People's Republic of China the properties acquired by the Soviet economic organization from Japanese owners in Manchuria, and also on the decision of the Soviet Government to hand over gratis to the government of the People's Republic of China all the buildings of the former military cantonment in Peking.

(For full texts of the these agreements, see the February 18-25 issue of the China Weekly Review.)

Chairman Mao's Statement on Leaving Moscow

ON February 17, 1950, Chairman Mao Tse-tung made the following speech before leaving Moscow:

Dear comrades and friends!

While in Moscow, I and Comrade Chou En-lai as well as members of the Chinese delegation met Generalissimo Stalin and responsible com-

rades from the Soviet government. It is hard to express in words the complete mutual understanding and the profound friendship which are formed on a basis of fundamental interests of our great peoples of China and the Soviet Union. Everybody sees that the unity of the great Chinese and Soviet peoples sealed by the treaty is lasting, inviolable and unswerving. This unity will inevitably influence not only the florescence of the great powers—China and the Soviet Union—but also the future of all humanity and the victory of justice and peace the world over.

During our sojourn in the USSR we have visited a number of plants and collective farms. We have seen the great successes achieved by the workers, peasants and intelligentsia of the Soviet Union in the construction of socialism; we have seen the style of combining revolutionary spirit with business-like attitude of the Soviet people, a style developed under the leadership of Comrade Stalin and the All-Union Communist Party of the Bolsheviks. This confirms the conviction which Chinese Communists always had: experience of economic and cultural construction and construction in other major spheres of the Soviet Union will serve as an example for the construction of the new China.

In the course of our sojourn in the capital of the USSR—in Moscow—and in the city of the birth of the October Revolution—Leningrad—we received warm hospitality. Leaving the great socialist capital we especially express heartfelt gratitude to Generalissimo Stalin, the Soviet government and the Soviet people.

Long live the eternal friendship and eternal cooperation between China and the Soviet Union!

Long live the peoples of the Soviet Union!

Long live the teacher of revolutions the world over, the best friend of the Chinese people, Comrade Stalin!

Postal and Telegraphic Agreements

Postal and Telegraphic Agreements between China and the Soviet Union came into force on March 1, 1950.

Joint Stock Companies in Sinkiang

THE following communique was issued on the conclusion of agreements on the establishment of two Sino-Soviet joint stock companies:

Agreements on the establishment of two Sino-Soviet joint stock companies, one a petroleum company and one a non-ferrous metals company, were signed in Moscow on March 27, 1950. Both companies are formed on the principle of equal rights and partnership with the purpose of fostering the development of the Chinese national industry and strengthening the economic cooperation between China and the Soviet Union.

The task of the petroleum company is to undertake the prospecting, producing and refining of petroleum and coal gas in Sinkiang province in the People's Republic of China. The task of the non-ferrous metals company is to undertake the prospecting and producing of non-ferrous metals in Sinkiang province. The products of the two aforementioned companies will be shared equally between both parties—China and the Soviet Union. The expenses for running the companies and the profits returned will also be equally shared between both parties.

The method of filling the leading posts in the companies alternately by representatives of both parties will be carried out. The agreements stipulate that during the first three years of their activities, the chairman of the management committee will be elected from among the Chinese representatives, the vice-chairman from the Soviet representatives. The general managers of the two companies will be appointed from among the Soviet citizens and the assistant general managers from the Chinese citizens. Every three years, the posts filled by the representatives of one party during this period will be replaced by representatives of the other party. The employees of the companies will be elected in equal numbers from the Chinese and the Soviet citizens. The principle of alternate appointments will be carried out in all circumstances. The agreements will be valid for a period of thirty years. The negotiations proceeded in a friendly atmosphere of complete mutual understanding. The agreements were signed:

On authorization of the People's Republic of China by Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary Wang Chia-hsiang;

On authorization of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Y. Vyshinsky.

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V.—Relations with Great Britain

Statement Regarding Properties of CNAC and CATC in Hongkong

PREMIER Chou En-lai made the following statement on December 3, 1949:

The CNAC and CATC belong to the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and are under the direct control of the Civil Aviation Bureau of the Central People's Government. Only the Central People's Government and personnel entrusted by it have the right to deal with the properties of the CNAC and CATC in Hongkong and nobody is allowed to encroach on, move or damage them by any means. Such a sacred property right of the Central People's Government should be respected by the Hongkong government. The Hongkong government must bear full responsibility if the properties of the two aviation corporations in Hongkong are illegally encroached upon, moved or damaged and be responsible for the due consequences.

Hongkong Government Responsible for Plane Damage

ON April 3, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai made the following statement:

The Hongkong government must be held fully and directly responsible for the incident in which seven civil airplanes belonging to China were wrecked in the forbidden military zone guarded by British police.

Since the Civil Aviation Bureau of the Central People's Government ordered Liu Ching-yi, General Manager of the China National Aviation Corporation, and Chen Cho-lin, General Manager of the Central Air Transport Corporation, to Hongkong to take over the property of the two air corporations on January 13, 1950, the Hongkong government, on the one hand, has impeded the civil airplanes belonging to China from taking off for their homeland, while on the other hand, it has never seriously taken measures to protect the planes stationed in the forbidden military zone in Hongkong. This enabled criminal elements to undertake sabotage.

Therefore, the Hongkong government must be held fully and directly responsible for the present losses incurred by China, and must immediately transfer all the property of the CNAC and the CATC in Hongkong to the personnel entrusted by the Civil Aviation Bureau of the Central People's Government to deal with them. During the period when the planes and all the property of the two corporations are still in Hongkong, the Hongkong government must remain fully responsible for their protection.

Requisition of Former British Barracks

THE following report appeared in the New China News Agency on April 11, 1950:

The Peking City Military Control Committee of the Chinese People's Liberation Army had issued the proclamation for the requisition of barracks of foreign countries on January 6. In accordance with that proclamation, the former barracks of the US, France and Holland had been so requisitioned.

On the fourth day of this month, the Military Control Committee issued an order to the former consul of Great Britain for the requisition of the former British barracks and requiring him, within one week, to appoint a person responsible for the handing over of the former British barracks located on No. 1 Hsing Kuo Road, Tung Chiao Min Hsiang. At 9:30 a.m. this morning, the Military Control Committee sent representatives to take over the former barracks, which were completely transferred by 1 p.m.

The former British barracks occupied approximately an area of 60 mow and about 800 rooms.

Protest Against Hongkong Restrictions on Chinese

J. C. HUTCHISON, British Charge d'Affaires ad interim, sent an official letter on April 28, 1950 to Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, notifying him that the British authorities in Hongkong have decided as from April 28, 1950 to treat Chinese nationals entering or leaving Hongkong in the same way as nationals of other countries and subject them to the same control.

On May 8, 1950, Vice-Foreign Minister Chang Han-fu lodged the following protest with the British government:

My Dear Mr. Hutchison,

With reference to your letter No. 23 dated 27th April, 1950, which was received on 28th April, stating briefly that the British authorities in Hongkong will remove, on 28th April of this year, the special exemptions as provided by regulations under Section 34 of the Hongkong Immigration Control Ordinance of 1949, by which Chinese nationals entering or leaving Hongkong are exempted from Sections 18, 24 and 25, concerning travel documents, of the said ordinance; and that, in the future, Chinese nationals will be subject to the same measures of control as other nationals, I have the honor to inform you the following:

For more than 100 years, Chinese nationals entering or leaving Hongkong have never been treated as foreign immigrants; nor have the British authorities in Hongkong any justification whatsoever to treat Chinese nationals as other foreign immigrants. Hence, with regard to

the regulations controlling Chinese nationals entering or leaving Hongkong as have been promulgated recently by the British authorities in Hongkong, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China cannot but regard them as an unreasonable and unfriendly act towards the People's Republic of China and her people, and hereby protest to the British government.

The Central People's Government considers that the British government should undertake necessary measures to remove immediately all restrictions upon Chinese nationals entering or leaving Hongkong.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my respects.

Protest Against British Detention of Chinese Planes

ON May 17, 1950, Vice-Foreign Minister Chang Han-fu lodged the following protest with the British government:

Mr. Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has the honor to acknowledge the receipt on May 11 of Mr. Hutchison's note No. 28 (30/532/30) and the enclosed texts of "The Supreme Court of Hongkong (Jurisdiction) Order in Council 1950" and the official statement concerning the said Order in Council issued on May 10 by the British government.

According to unmistakable reports from Hongkong on the same day, the Supreme Court of Hongkong had ordered the detention, on the government airfield at Kaitak in Hongkong, of the 70 aircraft which belong to the two air corporations (the China National Aviation Corporation and the Central Air Transport Corporation) under the auspices of the Civil Aviation Bureau of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

That these aircraft are the state property of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, and that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China will not tolerate any interference, damage, sabotage or transference imposed upon the said aircraft by anybody under any pretext have been repeatedly notified to the British government on record.

And the British government, as they have already declared their wish to establish diplomatic relations with the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, would be expected to fully respect the state property of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

The detention of the said state property of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China by the British government, however, not only indicates that the British government have not the least respect for the state property of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China but is also an expression of the most unfriendly attitude towards the People's Republic of China.

Upon this, Vice-Minister Chang Han-fu hereby strongly protests against the British government and requests Mr. Hutchison to advise the British government to free the 70 aircraft of the China National Aviation Corporation and Central Air Transport Corporation from detention immediately.

Vice-Minister Chang Han-fu avails himself of this opportunity to express to Mr. Hutchison the assurances of his high consideration.

Sino-British Negotiations

THE spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued the following statement on May 22, 1950:

On January 6, 1950, the British government presented a note to Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, expressing the desire to establish diplomatic relations with the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty; and the British government on the same day also announced its withdrawal of recognition from the remnant reactionary clique of the Chinese Kuomintang.

On January 9, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China made a reply to this note of the British government expressing willingness to establish diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and Great Britain on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty; furthermore, on January 28, he accepted Mr. Hutchison, Charge d'Affaires ad interim, as the designee of the British government for the purpose of coming to Peking as the representative of the British government to conduct negotiations on the preliminary and procedural questions concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and Great Britain.

After representative Hutchison arrived at Peking, the negotiations concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and Great Britain formally began on March 2. During the course of the negotiations, the Central People's Government verbally mentioned to the British representative for this negotiation that the question which was most important and which must first be settled in the preliminary and procedural questions concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and Great Britain was the relationship between the British government and the remnant reactionary clique of the Chinese Kuomintang.

The Central People's Government considered that the action of the British representative in abstaining on the vote with regard to the right of Chinese representation in the United Nations, and the question of what actually was the attitude of the British government towards the various organizations of the remnant reactionary clique of the Kuomintang and the national properties and assets of China in Great Britain, Hongkong and territories subject to Great Britain, as all pertaining to the question of the relationship between the British government and the remnant reactionary clique of the Chinese Kuomintang. Therefore, the Central People's Government wished that the British government would clarify its position with regard to these two questions.

The British government, on March 17, through representative Hutchison's verbal reply, made some explanations with regard to the attitude of the British government on the above two questions. The Central People's Government considered that these explanations were not satisfactory.

In actuality, the British government has, for five months, consistently abstained on the question of the right of Chinese representation in all the subsidiary organizations of the United Nations; and also, with regard to the planes now at Hongkong, which are directly in the possession and protection of the two airlines, the China National Aviation Corporation and the Central Air Transport Corporation of the Civil Aeronautics Bureau of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, the British authorities at Hongkong not only have obstructed in many ways their flight to China, but have also failed to assume their real responsibility in protecting the planes, to the extent that seven of them have met with destruction.

All such facts sufficiently indicate that the British government has not been able to demonstrate by its real actions that it has actually severed completely its relationship with the remnant reactionary clique of the Chinese Kuomintang, and also that it has not paid sufficient respect to the rights of the national properties and assets of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and its right to manage its properties and assets.

Therefore, the Central People's Government, on May 8, specially notified representative Hutchison for transmittal to the British government, asking it to clarify further its position with regard to the following two questions, that is the right of Chinese representation in the United Nations and the rights of the Chinese national properties and assets.

But on the following day of the notification of the Central People's Government, that is May 9, the British government even ordered the Hongkong court to detain the 70 planes of the China National Aviation Corporation and Central Air Transport Corporation, which were parked on Hongkong Kaitak Airfield. This action not only proved that the British government did not respect the rights of the national properties and assets of the Central People's Government and its right to manage its properties and assets, but also represented in actuality an extremely unfriendly attitude toward the People's Republic of China.

The British government, on the one hand, expressed the desire to establish, with the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and Great Britain; on the other hand, after expressing this desire, again and again demonstrated that it has not in reality completely severed its relationship with the remnant reactionary clique of the Chinese Kuomintang.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China considers that it is completely necessary for the British government to clarify further again its position with regard to the central question of these inconsistencies between declaration and action.

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VI.—Miscellaneous

Foreign Governments Must Bear Responsibility for Sheltering Kuomintang Forces

FOREIGN Minister Chou En-lai's statement of November 29, 1950, which was sent to the former diplomatic personnel of the various countries in China for forwarding to their respective governments:

The People's Liberation Army of the People's Republic of China, which is swiftly continuing to wipe out the remnant reactionary forces of the Kuomintang and liberating vast areas in South and Southwest China, is pressing near the southwest frontier of our country.

The Kuomintang reactionary horde headed by Chiang Kai-shek, Li Tsung-jen, Pai Chung-hsi and Yu Han-mou are turning their hopes to Viet-Nam and other places adjoining the frontiers of China, attempting to make these places an asylum for their battered troops and officers and preparing to turn them into bases for staging a comeback at the opportune moment.

In view of this, I, on behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, solemnly point out to the government of France and the governments of countries adjoining the frontiers of China that the thorough wiping out of all reactionary armed forces of the Kuomintang is the unshakable policy of our government. No matter where the defeated Kuomintang reactionary forces flee, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has the right to take up the matter, while the government of any country which gives shelter to the Kuomintang reactionary armed forces must be held responsible for its action and bear the responsibility for all the ensuing consequences.

Protest Against Transgression of Chinese Air by French Planes

FOREIGN Minister Chou En-lai made the following statement on December 20, 1950:

The report from the Headquarters of the People's Liberation Army on the Kwangsi Front states: "When the People's Liberation Army was encircling and annihilating the remnant units of Pai Chung-hsi in the Kungtienshan and Yitien areas in the Kwangsi county of Ningming at 10 a.m. on the 14th of this month, one French airplane from the direction of Viet-Nam suddenly invaded into Chinese air. It flew low and reconnoitered over Ningming county.

"At 2 p.m. the same day, another four French planes from the direction of Viet-Nam invaded into Chinese air, and circled above Yitien in Ningming county for several hours. One of the planes reconnoitered over Kungtienshan."

This act of flagrant transgression of the sacred territorial air of the People's Republic of China by French airplanes not only violated general international commitments, but also clearly proved to be a hostile action of deliberately rescuing and screening the Kuomintang remnant forces and openly intervening in the Chinese people's war of liberation by the French authorities, since this act took place at a time when our army was waging fierce battles to wipe out the Kuomintang remnant forces which attempted to flee into Viet-Nam.

I, on behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, lodge a strong protest against this intolerable, hostile action of the French airplanes and solemnly declare that the French Government should bear the responsibility of all consequences resulting from this hostile action.

Requisition of Foreign Barracks in Peking

See United States Section

"Goodwill Missions" of Lhasa Authorities

ON January 20, 1950, a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry issued the following statement:

Tibet is the territory of the People's Republic of China. This is a fact which is known to everybody in the world and which has never been denied by anybody. Since this is the case, the Lhasa authorities, of course, have no right to arbitrarity send out any "mission" and, still more, to prove Tibet's "independence."

Since the "independence" of Tibet has to be publicized to the government of the United States, Britain, India and Nepal, and has to be announced by the United Press of America, it is not difficult to see that, if the content of such news is not a United Press fabrication, it is at most merely a puppet show directed by American imperialism and its accomplices who are invading Tibet.

It is the demand of the Tibetan people that they become a member of the great democratic family of the People's Republic of China and carry out appropriate regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government. This has been stipulated in the Common Program of the People's Political Consultative Conference.

If under this principle the Lhasa authorities send representatives to Peking to negotiate on the question of peaceful settlement of Tibet, then such representatives will be received. If this is not the case, if the Lhasa authorities violate the will of the Tibetan people, if they obey the orders of the imperialist aggressors and send out illegal "missions" to engage in splitting and traitorous activities, then the Central People's Government of China will not tolerate such traitorous actions of the Lhasa authorities. Any country receiving such illegal "missions" will be regarded as harboring hostile ntentions towards the People's Republic of China.

Protest to Thailand Government

ON January 26, 1950, Vice-Foreign Minister Li Ke-nung lodged the following protest with the Foreign Ministry of the Thailand government:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China recently received a report from the representatives of overseas Chinese in the Bangkok prison, Fang Ching Nan, Chen Yi Teh, Ko Chia Shou, Li Jen Chuan and Liang Ming Kuang. According to the report, more than some 1,000 overseas Chinese were imprisoned or will be deported by the Thailand government because they support the People's Republic of China under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The report further said that they had been detained in the Bangkok prison for as long as nearly half a year, and many have been thrown into dark cells and shackled and fettered. They were constantly beaten and more than ten persons have been beaten or poisoned to death.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I lodge a strong protest with the Thailand government against such illegal detention, maltreatment and killing of overseas Chinese in Thailand. I hold that the Thailand government should bear full responsibility for such atrocities. I demand that the Thailand government: 1) immediately cease all maltreatment of overseas Chinese kept under custody in the Bangkok prison; 2) immediately release the detained overseas Chinese and cease to deport overseas Chinese; 3) guarantee non-recurrence of such incidents.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I declare that the Central People's Government reserves all rights to raise demands concerning the overseas Chinese who were illegally kept under custody, maltreated and killed by the Thailand government.

Trial of Japanese War Criminals

ON February 8, 1950, Vice-Foreign Minister Li Ke-nung sent the following note to Mr. P. A. Shibaev, Charge d'Affaires of the Soviet Embassy in Peking:

Mr. Charge d'Affaires: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of the note of February 1 of the USSR to the People's Republic of China. On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I declare full agreement to the proposal of the government of the USSR to appoint in the nearest future the Special International Military Court in accordance with Article 5 (a) of the decision of the Far Eastern Commission of April 3, 1946, (document FEC-00713) to try the five major Japanese war criminals of bacteriological warfare, guilty of the most grievous crimes against humanity; namely, Hirohito, emperor of Japan; Shiro Ishii and Masajo Kitano, lieutenant generals of the medical service; Yujiro Wakamatsu, major general of veterinary service; Yukio Kasahara, chief of staff of the Kwantung Army.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China considers that, when the Special International Military Court opens, China can only be represented by the representative of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China at the court and that the court absolutely cannot be attended by the personnel of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary bloc which has long ago lost all qualifications to represent China.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China considers that the trial of the Japanese war criminals of bacteriological warfare held by the military tribunal of the Khabarovsk Military Area from December 25 to 29, 1949, fully shows that the Soviet Union has meted out due punishment to the Japanese war criminals who endanger humanity and has lived up to her great responsibility to the cause of protecting the interests of humanity and peace.

The justice and meritorious deed of the Soviet government have won the acclamation and support of all peace-loving countries and peoples in the world. The Chinese people, who suffered from deaths caused by the bacteria of imperialist Japan, particularly feel greater indignation at the fascist enemy and deeper gratitude to their friend, the great Soviet Union.

The just call and proposal of the note of the USSR to appoint in the nearest future a special international military court to try the five major war criminals of bacteriological warfare headed by Hirohito, emperor of Japan, will meet with even greater ardent support from all peace-loving countries and peoples in the world. Only imperialist govern-

ments, which are bent on fostering the resurgence of Japanese imperialism and are actively preparing for a new world war, will reject this just call and proposal of the government of the USSR, and continue to shield top war criminal Hirohito, emperor of Japan, guilty of the most grievous crimes against humanity.

Foreign Minister Chou's Statement Regarding MacArthur's Actions

ON May 15, 1950, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai issued the following statement:

On March 7, 1950, MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Power in Japan, issued directive No. 5, which provides that all war criminals serving sentences in Japan may be released in advance. This is a serious violation of the elementary rules and principles of international law and at the same time exceeds the proper authority of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers as formulated by the statute of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East and by the political decision of the Far Eastern Commission on April 3, 1946.

The government of the USSR officially informed the US government, drawing its attention to these actions of MacArthur which violate the law and exceed his authority, and firmly demanded that it immediately take steps to retract this illegal directive No. 5 issued by MacArthur on March 7 this year concerning the major war criminals already sentenced by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China agrees with the solemn request forwarded by the government of the USSR to the US government. The Central People's Government holds that this outrageous act of MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan, in breaking the law and overstepping his authority, undermines the agreement reached by the Far Eastern Allies during the Second World War for the setting up of an International Military Tribunal and the solemn verdict of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East to punish the Japanese war criminals.

It also without doubt seriously damages the fundamental right, which the Chinese people won during eight years of bloody war, to the punishment of the Japanese war criminals and the fundamental interests of the Chinese people in preventing the revival of the aggressive forces of Japanese fascism.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China absolutely and entirely refuses to acknowledge MacArthur's unilateral and arbitrary order for the release of the Japanese war criminals in advance.

The Central People's Government also solemnly declares that on the US government must fall the full responsibility for immediately retracting and correcting this act of MacArthur in breach of the law and overstepping his authority.

VII.—Governments Which Have Recognized the People's Republic of China

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
People's Republic of Bulgaria
People's Republic of Rumania
Republic of Czechoslovakia
People's Republic of Hungary
Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Republic of Poland
Mongolian People's Republic
German Democratic Republic
People's Republic of Albania
Union of Burma
India
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Ceylon
Norway
Denmark
Israel
Afghanistan
Finland
Vietnam
Sweden
Netherlands
Switzerland
United States of Indonesia

Documents and Speeches

Copies of the* China Weekly Review *containing translations of the following documents and speeches are still available for those readers who wish to keep a complete file of important speeches and statements of the new China's leaders, as well as of all major laws and regulations put into effect during the past year:

	in China (including postage)	*abroad (including postage)*
Common Program of the PPCC	JMP9,000	US$0.40
Full Text of the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Republic	JMP6,000	US$0.30
Full Text of the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council	JMP6,000	US$0.30
Liu Shao-chi's Speech on Sino-Soviet Friendship...	JMP6,000	US$0.30
List of Officials of the Central People's Government	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Full Text of Li Li-san's Speech on China's Trade Union Movement...	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Text of Treaty and Agreements between China and the Soviet Union ...	JMP4,000	US$0.20
China's Finances and Food—an Official Report by Chen Yun	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Full Text of Liu Shao-chi's Labor Day Speech	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Tung Pi-wu's Statement on Relief and Welfare Work	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Kao Kang's Report on the Economic Situation in the Northeast	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Mao Tse-tung's Report on China's Economy	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Chen Yun's Report to the PPCC on Industry, Commerce and Taxation	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Reports to the PPCC National Committee:	JMP4,000	US$0.20
a) Mao Tse-tung's Closing Address		
b) Kuo Mo-jo's Report on Cultural and Educational Work in China		
c) Shen Chun-ju's Report on the People's Court		
Full Text of China's Agrarian Reform Law	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Liu Shao-chi's Analysis of the Agrarian Reform Law	JMP4,000	US$0.20
China's Trade Union Law and Comment by Li Li-san	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Jao Shu-shih's Report on Land Reform in East China — Tseng Shan's Report on Financial and Economic Work in East China	JMP6,500	US$0.30